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1907

New York

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THE MAP OF BRYANISM



TWELVE YEARS OF
DEMAGOGY AND DEFEAT

AN APPEAL
TO INDEPENDENT
DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT
BY THE NEW YORK WORLD

FEBRUARY, 1908

308

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Box 857

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*And every one that was in distress,
and every one that was in debt, and
every one that was discontented gath-
ered themselves unto him; and he
became a captain over them; and
there were with him about four hun-
dred men.—I. Samuel, xxi., 2.*

DEMOCRATIC "UNITY."

While Democrats have reason to be encouraged by the fact that Democratic principles have grown in popularity and that Democratic policies are now praised by many who denounced them a few years ago, and while further encouragement is to be derived from the fact that THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS MORE UNITED THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR MANY YEARS and the Republican party more divided, still the action of the Democratic party cannot be made dependent upon the prospect of success,—William Jennings Bryan in a statement issued Nov. 14, 1907, announcing his readiness to accept the Democratic nomination for President.

*The fact is that the prospects of the Democratic party are very bright and are constantly growing brighter. Recent events and even the admissions of the Republicans have vindicated the Democratic position. Every proposition for which the Democratic party stood in 1896 has been proved sound, and not a Republican policy but is weaker to-day than it was then. * * **

*When has a party in power lost its popularity so rapidly as the Republican party has? AND WHEN HAS A PARTY OUT OF POWER INCREASED ITS STRENGTH MORE RAPIDLY THAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS? * * * The Democratic party is more united than it has been for many years. The money question, which defeated the Democrats in 1896, is out of the way. There is no division in the Democratic party among the rank and file. While the Democratic party is united, the Republican party is more divided than it has been in recent years, and this division cannot be healed. No matter what the Republican party does, it cannot please both sides. All that the Democratic party has to do is to be loyal to the interests of the American people and make a strong fight on a strong platform, and victory is within its reach.—William Jennings Bryan in an interview at Chautauqua, N. Y., July 5, 1907.*

TWELVE YEARS OF BRYANISM.

For nearly twelve years, Mr. Bryan, you have been the leader—yes, the dictator—of the Democratic party in the United States. With but one exception, its policies have been your policies; its principles, your principles; its platform, your platform.

After twelve years of such domination, during which time the party has gone down to three successive national defeats, piling disaster upon disaster and ruin upon ruin, your friends insist not only that you are the most available candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1908, but that you are the only available candidate, and you yourself have issued a statement expressing your readiness and willingness to accept the nomination—a statement, by the way, which your supporters confidently claim has eliminated all other candidates from the field.

If the Democracy has prospered so greatly under your leadership that the irresistible logic of events compels your nomination again in 1908, that fact ought to be apparent from an impartial inventory of the party's political assets.

We purpose, therefore, to take some account of your stewardship and render thereon an unprejudiced and dispassionate report.

Excepting Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson no other Democrat has dominated his party so long or so completely as you, Mr. Bryan.

Of the twenty-eight years of Jefferson's active leadership the party was in power twenty-four. Of the sixteen years of Jackson's active leadership the party was in power twelve.

Under your leadership the party has not been in power a single day, a single hour, a single minute. It has steadily lost ground, until at this time it is almost without force at the North, except in local affairs; it is menaced even at the South, where it lost Kentucky in the last November election, and ancient strongholds are either in possession of the Republicans or are held by a tenure at once precarious and disquieting.

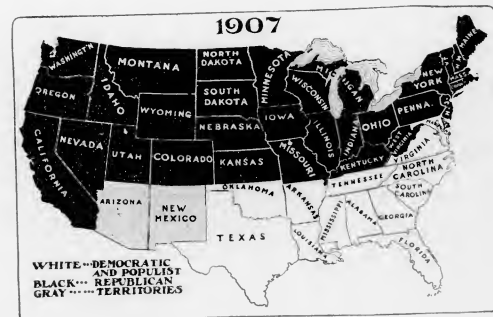
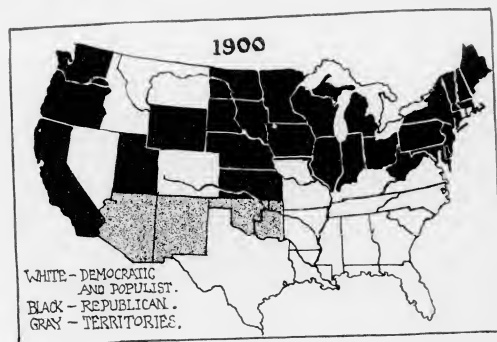
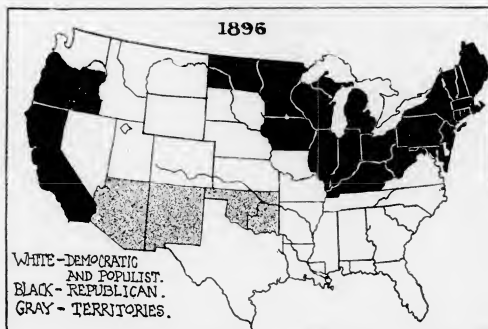
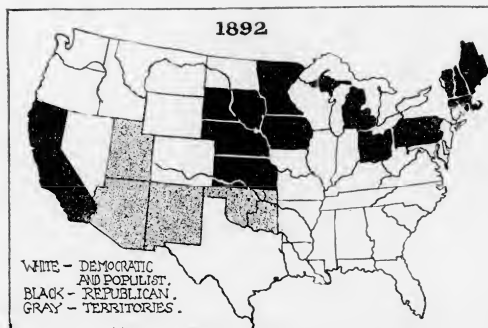
You began your domination of the Democratic party in a period of great financial disturbance. You now purpose to be the Democratic candidate for President in another period of great financial disturbance, as the nominee of a political party whose reputation for financial sanity you have discredited all over the civilized world. Not only have you failed to recant as to your past financial heresies, but you have steadfastly adhered to your free-silver delusions. No longer ago than Dec. 7, in a speech at Freeport, Ill., you declared that your financial policy in 1896 had been "vindicated."

In such circumstances you may well say that the action of the party in again nominating you "cannot be made dependent upon the prospect of success." What prospect of success could there be?

As an orator, Mr. Bryan, you have few peers. As an agitator you are without a rival. No man could have reached and held the position that is yours without qualities of a high order. Alone among Americans of recent years you have maintained political leadership in the face of repeated disaster and seemingly because of it.

If we take issue with such a man we must leave nothing to mere assertion, and we must wholly disavow malice and prejudice. We shall consider Bryan the politician, the party leader, not Bryan the man.

For the purpose of demonstrating the error of your assumption more plainly than in words or figures, we print herewith maps of the United States showing the States carried by Democrats and Republicans in the years 1892, 1896, 1900 and 1907:



These maps speak for themselves. If they do not answer your question, "And when has a party out of power increased its strength more rapidly than the Democratic party has?" there can be no answer. If they do not answer your assertion that "the Democratic party is more united than it has been in many years," there can be no answer.

The Democratic party went out of power in the nation March 4, 1897. Four years earlier it controlled 23 of the 44 States, the Republicans 17 and the Populists 4.

In Congress the party division was as follows: Senate—Democrats, 44; Republicans, 38; Independent, 1; Alliance, 2; vacancies, 3. House—Democrats, 220; Republicans, 128; Populists, 8.

The popular vote in 1892 was: Democratic, 5,556,918; Republican, 5,176,108; Populist, 1,041,028 (Weaver, for whom you voted).

The electoral vote in the same year was: Democratic, 277; Republican, 145; Populist, 22.

What was the situation Nov. 14, 1907, Mr. Bryan, after eleven years of your leadership, when you announced your receptive candidacy?

Of the 46 States the Democrats controlled 13 and the Republicans 33.

The popular vote in the Presidential election of 1904 was: Republican, 7,623,486; Democratic, 5,077,971; Socialist, 402,283. The electoral vote was: Republican, 336; Democratic, 140.

In Congress the party division now is: Senate—Republicans, 61; Democrats, 31. House—Republicans, 223; Democrats, 168.

In 1893 there were Democratic United States Senators from California, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Wisconsin. In 1907, when you reviewed your work and found Democratic conditions and prospects so pleasing, there was not a single anti-Republican Senator from a Northern State except two silver men from Colorado and Nevada respectively. The Republicans had gained a Senator, not only in Colorado, but in Missouri.

Whole States at the North are without Democratic representation in Congress, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, north of the Ohio River, there are but six Democratic Governors, viz.: James M. Higgins, Rhode Island; John A. Johnson, Minnesota; Joseph K. Toole, Montana; John Sparks, Nevada; John Burke, North Dakota, and George E. Chamberlain, Oregon. Singularly enough, these are all found in States which are normally Republican or Populist. Kentucky has just gone Republican, electing an entire State ticket by the second largest majority the State has given to any candidate in fifteen years.

Throughout the North, in the cities and in the counties, Democrats have been driven from places which the party has controlled for generations, and in hundreds of localities no representative of the party holds a public position, except as he may have been appointed thereto by some considerate or patronizing Republican or is protected by the provisions of a civil service law.

Such to-day is the condition of the historic Democratic party, Mr. Bryan, after twelve years of your leadership.

ELECTIONS PAST AND TO COME.

The States which voted for Mr. Roosevelt in 1904 and the pluralities by which he carried them are here given:

	Rep. plurality.		Rep. plurality.
California	115,832	Nevada	2,886
Colorado	24,832	New Hampshire	20,188
Connecticut	28,189	New Jersey	80,598
Delaware	4,351	New York	115,563
Idaho	29,303	North Dakota	38,429
Illinois	965,629	Ohio	226,421
Indiana	53,914	Oregon	42,564
Iowa	128,109	Pennsylvania	505,519
Kansas	128,093	Rhode Island	26,716
Maine	26,791	South Dakota	50,114
Maryland	61	Utah	29,033
Massachusetts	91,078	Vermont	30,632
Michigan	227,715	Washington	73,142
Minnesota	161,451	West Virginia	31,295
Missouri	23,137	Wisconsin	126,007
Montana	18,159	Wyoming	11,569
Nebraska	86,932		

Many of these pluralities are unprecedented and not likely to be soon repeated unless you, Mr. Bryan, insist upon a third candidacy; but there is no important State in the above list which Mr. Taft or Mr. Hughes would not be reasonably certain to carry against you.

The impelling motive for the Populist-Democratic alliance in 1896 and 1900 was the belief on the part of the men who engineered it that you could carry not only all of the regularly Democratic and doubtful States of the South and East, but that you would take away from the Republicans ten or twelve States in the far West.

Two small tables will show how this enterprise resulted, how great Democratic or doubtful States were sacrificed for small Populist States and how, in the course of four years, you lost most of the Populist States, as well as some of the Democratic States, and all of the doubtful States:

Republican-Populist-Silver States Carried by Bryan, 1896.		Doubtful and Democratic States Lost by Bryan, 1896.	
Colorado	4	New York	36
Idaho	3	Connecticut	6
Kansas	10	New Jersey	3
Montana	3	Delaware	3
Nebraska	8	Maryland	3
Nevada	4	Kentucky	13
South Dakota	3	West Virginia	5
Utah	3		
Washington	4	Total	82
Wyoming	3		
Total	45		

To gain 45 electoral votes in the trans-Missouri region, 82 electoral votes in the East and South were deliberately thrown away. Not wholly satisfied with the showing thus made, the experiment was repeated in 1900, with the following result:

Republican-Populist States Carried by Bryan, 1900.		Republican-Populist States Carried by McKinley, 1900.	
Colorado	4	Kansas	10
Idaho	3	Nebraska	8
Montana	3	North Dakota	3
Nevada	3	South Dakota	3
		Utah	4
Total	13	Oregon	4
		Wyoming	3
		Washington	4
		Total	39

In 1904, with Judge Parker as the candidate, but with you still the actual leader of the party, every Populist State, every doubtful State and several Democratic States were carried by Mr. Roosevelt.

Of the great pivotal States, New York at once occurs to the mind as the one from whose political action the most interesting and instructive lessons are to be drawn. The total vote in that State in the last four Presidential elections has been as follows:

	Dem.	Rep.		Dem.	Rep.
1892.....	654,965	699,250	1900.....	678,385	821,952
1896.....	651,799	819,538	1904.....	685,851	839,513

In twelve years there was an increase of only 29,000 in the total Democratic vote of this State, against an increase of 250,000 in the Republican vote. Clearly enough, you cannot possibly carry New York. Yet as everybody knows who has studied political conditions in this great pivotal State, some other Democrat, the Great Unknown, on whom all factions could unite, might do so.

Assuming for the moment that you, like Mr. Roosevelt, should decline to yield to the entreaties of your admiring countrymen, and that he Democrats, thus deprived of your leadership, should nominate Gov. Johnson, of Minnesota; Woodrow Wilson, Judge Gray, former Gov. Douglas, of Massachusetts, or Chief Judge Cullen of the New York Court of Appeals, or some other Democrat of the best type and the highest character, who would have a chance of carrying New York and other doubtful States, and who would certainly carry all of the Democratic States, could it then be said that the party entered the campaign foredoomed to defeat and disaster?

Obviously, if there is to be the slightest prospect of Democratic success next year, there must be a candidate who can carry Democratic and doubtful States, and not appeal merely to the comparatively unimportant Populist States, which are now, as formerly, safely Republican.)

IN THE REALM OF POPULISM.

The demoralization of the Democratic party which we have set forth followed on the heels of its alliance with Populism. As you, Mr. Bryan, were the moving force behind that alliance, and still persist in it, it will be instructive to study the political situation in your own State.)

Its vote at various elections since 1896 has been as follows:

	Pop.-Dem.	Rep.		Pop.-Dem.	Rep.
*1896.....	118,800	102,304	1901.....	56,334	86,593
1897.....	102,280	89,000	1902.....	91,116	96,471
1898.....	95,703	82,992	1903.....	87,994	90,999
1899.....	109,239	94,212	*1904.....	51,579	138,558
*1900.....	114,013	129,535	1905.....	84,885	97,858
			1907.....	77,981	103,367

*Presidential years.

You are never more admirable than in defeat, but, to say nothing of the situation elsewhere, what do you find in your own good State to give you encouragement? Can you carry it? You did not in 1900. Can any other Democratic candidate for President carry it? One made the effort under your half-hearted auspices in 1904 and failed. Is the Populistic-Democratic alliance still effective there? We have no evidence of it, for a Fusion majority of about 13,000 in 1896 was changed into a Republican plurality of 86,000 in 1904, the State has gone Republican in every election for eight years and Fusion last November, assisted by your eloquent speeches, lost on a platform of your own framing by a majority of 25,000 and upward.

Moreover, as most of the Populists in Nebraska were originally Republicans, the greatly increased Republican vote in 1904 and 1907 goes to prove that a majority of them have returned to their earlier political association.) There is absolutely no sign, then, that the prospects of the Democratic party are "constantly growing brighter" in Nebraska; and Nebraska, not alone because it is a noble State, but because you are its first citizen, cannot be slighted in this examination.

If we cannot find cheering conditions in the commonwealth which more than any other should delight to honor you, it may be worth while to pursue this investigation in the other far Western States where Populism has had its seat. Taking the three Presidential elections beginning with that of 1896, we have the following instructive figures showing on what a sliding and even slippery scale political hopes are sometimes based:

KANSAS.			COLORADO.		
	Silver Pop.-Dem.	Rep.		Silver Pop.-Dem.	Rep.
1896.....	171,810	189,541	1896.....	181,168	25,271
1900.....	187,901	185,555	1900.....	122,733	93,073
1904.....	84,500	210,893	1904.....	101,103	184,067
NORTH DAKOTA.			UTAH.		
1896.....	20,656	29,335	1896.....	41,517	13,484
1900.....	20,819	35,591	1900.....	46,006	47,129
1904.....	14,373	62,505	1904.....	35,413	65,446
SOUTH DAKOTA.			IDAHO.		
1896.....	41,225	41,942	1896.....	23,192	6,324
1900.....	30,564	54,559	1900.....	29,414	26,597
1904.....	21,908	72,063	1904.....	15,490	47,783
WYOMING.			NEVADA.		
1896.....	10,635	10,072	1896.....	8,377	1,938
1900.....	10,161	14,482	1900.....	6,347	3,819
1904.....	8,904	20,467	1904.....	5,862	6,897
MONTANA.			OREGON.		
1896.....	42,537	10,494	1896.....	46,592	48,779
1900.....	37,146	25,373	1900.....	39,885	46,626
1904.....	21,773	54,562	1904.....	17,521	60,465
			WASHINGTON.		
1896.....	42,537	10,494	1896.....	51,646	39,153
1900.....	37,146	25,373	1900.....	44,823	67,496
1904.....	21,773	54,562	1904.....	28,096	101,540

The unvarying regularity with which the Populistic-Democratic vote in these States has dwindled is equalled only by the progressive increases in the Republican vote.

These records show, in brief, that of the Populistic States which you promised to carry in 1896—and most of which you did carry in that year—only four voted for you in 1900 and none at all chose Democratic electors in 1904. Furthermore, with the greatest deference to your judgment, they seem to prove that what was known as the Democratic party in these States has been virtually annihilated, and that the Republican party was never before so strong and so united as it is to-day.)

MR. BRYAN'S LEADERSHIP BEGINS.

Your leadership of the Democratic party, Mr. Bryan, began with the National Convention held in Chicago in 1896. It was an unfortunate year for a national campaign.

The American people were paying the penalty of thirty years' of trifling with their currency and their monetary standard of value. Industry was half paralyzed, commerce semi-prostrate. Crops had been poor, the price of farm products was low; the farms themselves were generally mortgaged. The National Government itself, with a demoralized treasury, was borrowing money to pay its current expenses under

the form of maintaining the gold reserve. Bond sales to favored syndicates had aroused the indignation of the people without regard to party. Probably a million men in the cities were out of work. Soup-houses had been opened during the two preceding winters, and in every large center of population police stations had been filled nightly by homeless wanderers.

Armies of tramps moved sullenly along the highways. A Democratic Administration was in power which seemingly had no friends except its own appointees and beneficiaries. Discontent was almost universal. It was the hour of the agitator, and the Democratic National Convention was his opportunity.

There were orators, there were demagogues, there were self-seekers; there were in plenty Jack Cades, with seven half-penny loaves on sale for a penny; but something more was needed, and that was a man who gave evidence of zeal, who had not been conspicuously identified with ancient party feuds, and who by his demeanor might inspire the despairing, satisfy the frantic, excite the luke-warm and appeal to the imagination of the doubtful voter.

That man appeared in the person of you, William Jennings Bryan, then thirty-six years old, at that moment editor of an Omaha newspaper by grace of the silver miners, and affectionately known in the West as "the Boy Orator of the Platte."

When a temporary organization of the convention was effected the elements of repudiation and political revolution found that, while they had a majority of the delegates, they did not have the two-thirds majority necessary, in accordance with Democratic precedent, to nominate a candidate for President. This embarrassment was short-lived.

The silver forces, by prearranged plan, had sent contesting delegations from many States, including Nebraska. Only a majority vote was necessary to adopt the report of a committee. The Committee on Credentials, therefore, unsated enough conservative delegates to insure a radical two-thirds majority for nominating purposes, and the issue was no longer in doubt.

You, Mr. Bryan, were at the head of the contesting delegates from Nebraska when they marched into the convention hall to take the seats of the sound money delegates that had been evicted. Of the twenty thousand persons that saw you walk triumphantly up the aisle few knew you, still fewer recognized you, none dreamed that for years to come you were destined to be the dictator, the autocrat of the Democratic party throughout the whole United States.

(Such are the accidents of history.)

The money plank in the platform, which the convention adopted by a vote of 626 to 303, was as follows:

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private, the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad, and the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the property of an industrial people in the paralyzes of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only an American, but an anti-American policy, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for debts public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

The frenzy of free silver was not all, however. In addition to that the platform, in order to placate Republican Populists, specifically abandoned tariff reform, a traditional Democratic policy, in support of which, only four years before, it had won a glorious victory:

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax.

On the subject of the income tax decision it criticised the Court and added this threat, that in the event of Democratic-Populist success the Court would be reconstructed in a fashion to make its decisions accord with the views of the Committee on Resolutions of the Democratic National Convention:

We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court as it may hereafter be constituted, etc.

Because President Cleveland had enforced the laws of the United States when their authority had been challenged by riotous mobs in Chicago, and because courts had punished mob leaders for violating writs of injunction protecting property, the platform took issue with them thus:

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners.

These are some of the amazing doctrines—amazing in a Democratic convention—which you, as a member of the Platform Committee, assisted in reporting and which you defended before the convention in a speech that proved to be an event in American history.)

That speech, which made you a great national figure, which nominated you for President, which fastened your leadership upon the Democratic party with a grip of steel, concluded as follows:

My friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in defense of our homes, our families and posterity. We have petitioned and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer, we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say on the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible, but that until that is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, and upon that issue we expect to carry every State in the Union. It is the issue of 1776 over again. If they say bi-metalism is good but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that instead of having a gold standard because of the protection of the British, we have restored bi-metalism because the United States has it. If they dare come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the products of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand with a voice that will say to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Probably you were at your greatest then, Mr. Bryan. You have spoken almost continuously since that time, but you have never repeated the oratorical success which you then achieved.

It is said of mediaeval warriors that they were sometimes suffocated by their armor and cloth of gold. Happily, Mr. Bryan, you have not been suffocated, but the reputation which you gained as the young man who won a Presidential nomination by a single speech was enough to have crushed almost any other man in the world. Plausible reasons can doubtless be advanced as to why you have never duplicated that triumph. 'If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

THE SILVER TRUST.

There was one element in that "broader class of business men" to whom you did not refer, Mr. Bryan. We mean the exceedingly wealthy, astute, far-sighted, though temporarily embarrassed, gentlemen who owned the most productive of the American silver mines and who have been described as the Silver Trust.

Statisticians estimate that the world's production of silver during the 400 years from 1492 to 1892 amounted in value in the aggregate to about \$10,000,000,000. Of this great sum probably not less than \$3,000,000,000 was in circulation throughout the world, most of it in inferior countries, as money. Thousands of millions of it had been used in the arts, and, if necessary, could be sent to the melting pots. Some of it has been lost, no doubt.

In addition to this vast store, the annual production of the silver mines of the United States was about \$30,000,000 in gold value and of the world probably \$100,000,000, which, if stimulating legislation were had, could and would have been largely increased.

The great silver mine owners of the world were in despair over the depreciation in price of their metal. Its use for money of redemption had been discontinued by the leading commercial nations. The India mints had been closed to its coinage. Congress had been forced to repeal the Sherman silver act, which had made the National Government a heavy purchaser of silver in the market.

The business of the mining operators was in a bad way and ruin stared many of them in the face unless the Government of the United States created an unlimited market for their product by throwing open its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Never was a political propaganda more vehemently and desperately advocated, and never were the selfish interests behind it more ardently concealed. If the obvious self-interest of the silver miners in the 16 to 4 crusade carried on by Democrats and Populists in 1896 had been as well understood as it should have been the names of these men would be as closely associated in the public mind with the Silver Trust as Rockefeller's is with oil or Armour's is with beef.

The people have been made well acquainted in recent years with the names of the men interested in beef, in oil, in tobacco, in coal, in copper, in iron and steel and in other commodities the production and sale of which is believed to be governed by trusts. How many of them know or have heard the names of the producers of silver, in whose behalf you, Mr. Bryan, worked as zealously as any trust lawyer ever did for his client?

When the Republicans, after many years of evasion, finally refused to take up the cause of the miners, the latter naturally sought the assist-

ance of the Populists and Democrats, and their reception was more cordial than they had dared to hope for. As you yourself will doubtless agree, the most powerful advocate thus gained was William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska.

The proposition which you advanced, Mr. Bryan, contemplated opening the mints of the United States to the free coinage on private account at the rate of less than 50 cents' worth of bullion to the dollar of whatever portion of this enormous stock of silver its owners or speculators might be moved to present. You asserted that free coinage and the fiat of Government would instantly raise every 50-cent token thus minted to parity with gold.

If so, the wealth of all owners and producers of silver would have been doubled. As a matter of fact such a policy would have made this country a dumping ground for silver, and our gold would have become a commodity to be bought and sold like diamonds.

Here is a list of some of the gentlemen who, failing to break into the Republican tariff-protected circle where the other trusts luxuriate, assisted in financing your theory that 50 cents' worth of silver bullion ought to be worth a dollar:

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MR. BRYAN'S CAMPAIGN FUND.

Marcus A. Daly...	\$159,000	O. J. Salisbury.....	8500
Montana: principal owner of Anaconda Mine. This sum of \$159,000 represents Mr. Daly's own contribution and sums collected by him.		Frank Knox.....	100
David H. Moffat... 18,000		President National Bank of Republic	
First National Bank, Denver, Col.		J. McGee...	300
W. S. Stratton... 12,000		Mine owner.	
Colorado: owner of Independence Mine.		Centennial Eureka Mine.....	1,500
William A. Clark 45,000		Daily - West Mining Company.....	500
Of Montana.		W. S. McCormick....	300
Dennis Sheedy... 7,500		President Utah National Bank	
Colorado Nat'l Bank, Denver, Col.		First National Bank of Park City.....	500
Charles D. Lane... 15,000		Salt Lake Valley Loan and Trust Company...	500
Of California.		Daily Mining Company.	1,000
D. M. Hyman..... 7,500		Bullion-Beck Mine...	1,000
Denver, Col.		P. Parusworth.....	250
Other Colorado Mining interests 6,000		Manager Bullion-Beck Mine.	
Utah Mining Interests..... 18,372.70		R. C. Chambers and others.....	2,000
The Treasurer of this fund was J. R. Walker, of Walker Bros., bankers, Salt Lake City. The chief individual contributors were as follows:		Managers Ontario Mine.	
J. E. Bamberger..... 8250		Swansea Mining Company.....	200
President Daily-West Mining Company.		Manmoth Mine.....	249
W. W. Chisholme.... 250		Manmoth Mine employees.....	120
Mine owner.		Manmoth Mining Company.....	1,000
John Beck..... 500		Eureka Hill Mining Company.....	242
Mine owner.		Central Mining Company.....	122
T. R. Jones..... 250		Goldra Mining Company employees.....	34
Ore buyer.		Swansea Mining Company.....	39
Total contributions of the silver mine owners to your campaign fund.....	\$288,000	John Beck.....	300
		Mine owner.	
		Bullion-Beck Mine employees.....	537
		Geyser Mine employees.....	116
		Horn Silver Mine employees.....	307
		John Beck.....	200

These contributions, as you doubtless know, Mr. Bryan, were all recorded in the books of the Democratic National Committee, although

in your eloquent appeals for publicity of political contributions you have never referred to the fact that the silver interests financed your Presidential campaign.

THE DISCREDITED PROPHET.

If you, Mr. Bryan, and the Chicago Convention had been right, your overthrow at the polls in November should have been followed by continued depression and disaster. You foretold them both.

As a matter of fact the votes by which you were condemned had hardly been counted when there were signs of business revival, and in an incredibly short space of time the change for the better had become so pronounced that complaint practically ceased, agitation was abandoned and the sporadic orator of calamity was greeted with derision.

Never before in the history of the world was there so sudden and so complete a restoration of confidence and a revival of industry and commerce. Never before was there so convincing a demonstration of the truth, long known, that the surest way to destroy prosperity is to debase the currency, and the most certain way to restore it under such circumstances is to take a firm stand in favor of the best money known to men.

In measuring the prosperity with which this country has been blessed since the menace of cheap silver was removed, figures rather than words are necessary. Referring to those furnished by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, we find these instructive comparisons as showing the crucifixion of mankind upon "a cross of gold."

A MARVELLOUS COMPARISON.

	1890.	1905.
Population	62,622,250	83,143,000
Total wealth.....dols.	65,037,091,000	110,000,000,000
Public debts.....dols.	1,549,296,126	989,866,772
Gold in circulation.....dols.	374,258,923	651,063,589
Money in circulation.....dols.	1,429,251,270	2,587,882,653
National banks.....No.	3,513	5,668
Bank clearings.....dols.	58,845,279,505	140,501,841,957
Savings bank deposits.....dols.	1,524,844,506	3,093,077,357
Total bank deposits.....dols.	3,046,580,171	9,673,385,303
Savings bank depositors.....No.	4,781,605	7,696,229
Imports.....dols.	789,310,409	1,117,513,071
Exports.....dols.	857,828,684	1,518,561,666
Value of manufactures.....dols.	9,372,437,283	14,802,147,087
Production gold.....dols.	32,845,000	86,337,700
Silver.....dols.	70,486,000	76,203,100
Coal.....tons	140,866,931	314,362,881
Petroleum.....gals.	1,924,552,224	4,916,663,682
Pig iron.....tons	9,202,703	22,992,380
Steel.....tons	4,227,071	13,859,887
Tin plates.....lbs.	2,236,743	1,025,920,000
Copper.....tons	115,966	362,740
Wool.....lbs.	276,000,000	295,488,458
Wheat.....bush.	399,262,000	692,979,489
Corn.....bush.	1,489,970,000	2,707,983,540
Cotton.....bales	7,311,322	13,565,951
Cane sugar.....tons	136,503	350,000
Railroad mileage.....	166,654	212,349
Freight, one mile.....ons	79,192,985,125	173,613,762,130
Passengers.....No.	520,459,032	719,654,951

Rates, ton, mile.....cts.	0.93	0.79
Passenger cars.....No.	21,664	31,034
Freight cars.....No.	1,099,205	1,728,903
Liabilities.....dols.	10,907	11,520
Post-offices.....No.	189,836,964	102,676,172
Post-office receipts.....dols.	62,401	68,131
Newspapers.....No.	60,882,097	152,826,585
Patents.....No.	16,984	23,146
Immigrants.....No.	26,292	30,399
	455,302	1,026,499

It may be that some statesman or economist or dreamer has had visions of such activity and progress as these figures set forth most eloquently, but it is certain that in real life they have never been equalled at any other time or in any other place.

They are worthy of painstaking study, not only because they set forth the greatness and the glory of a free people, but because they crush absolutely all the sophistry, all the error, all the misrepresentation and all the downright calumny on which you and the other honest Sons of Thunder made their memorable campaign in 1896.

There is now \$900,000,000 in gold in the United States Treasury. The value of the farm products for the year 1907 is estimated by the Secretary of Agriculture to be over \$7,400,000,000. Yet you presume to say that events have "vindicated the Democratic position"—that is your position.

MR. BRYAN AND THE COURTS.

Let us see, Mr. Bryan, whether your campaign against the Federal courts had a more rational inspiration than your campaign for a 50-cent dollar.

You and your associates gave your followers to understand that the United States courts were prejudiced in behalf of the rich and powerful—were, in fact, controlled by trusts and corporations—and were deaf to the welfare of the people as a whole. Not only have you appealed to mob passion against Federal courts of justice and threatened to pack the Supreme Court, but you have persistently advocated short terms and popular elections for United States Judges in order to make them creatures of popular clamor. We have, therefore, thought proper to indicate here as briefly as possible important cases arising since 1896 in which proceedings have been begun or judgment has been entered against the very interests which you charged were privileged.

The list is instructive in many ways, but in none is it more so than in its complete refutation of the slanders of Socialistic demagogism.

In 1898 the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the Circuit Court, Southern District of New York, and the Circuit Court of Appeals and enjoined the Joint Traffic Association from violating the Anti-Trust law. Thirty-one railroad companies engaged in transportation between Chicago and the Atlantic coast had formed themselves into an association to control competitive traffic and fix rates. By the action of the court it was dissolved.

In 1899 the Supreme Court sustained the Circuit Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit, in the matter of an injunction restraining the operations of the Cast-Iron Pipe Trust, which attempted to increase the price of cast-iron pipe by controlling and parceling out the manufacture and sale thereof throughout the several States and Territories to the several companies forming the combination. This is known as the Addystone Pipe case, and it stands as a precedent in all similar proceedings against trusts.

In 1900 the Supreme Court decided that the Inheritance Tax law of 1898 was constitutional. Under this act a legacy to a husband or wife was exempt. Legacies to others paid a tax, which increased as the degree of kinship was more remote, until property passing to strangers in blood paid 5 per cent. To this initial rate a progressive rate according to the value of the legacy was applied. Property valued at \$10,000 or under was exempt. Exceeding \$10,000 but not exceeding \$25,000, the rate was fixed by kinship. The rate increased with the amount, until property exceeding \$1,000,000 was required to pay the rate fixed by kinship multiplied by three. This law was afterward repealed by Congress, but the Court has established the principle of a graduated inheritance tax for all time.

In 1900 the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the Anti-Trust law of Texas, one of the most drastic yet adopted by any of the States. State prosecutions of trusts in Texas have been frequent and determined.

In 1901 the Supreme Court, in the insular cases, held that the President and his Cabinet officers could not constitutionally govern and make rules and regulations for the Philippines and Porto Rico in time of peace, that power belonging to Congress. These decisions checked a tendency on the part of the Executive to establish military government in our dependencies.

In 1904 the Supreme Court, having the cases against the Beef Trust before it, decided: (1) Traffic in live stock transported from State to State is interstate commerce, and persons engaged in buying and selling such live stock are engaged in interstate commerce. (2) The combination between dealers to suppress all competition in the purchase of live stock is an unlawful restraint of trade. (3) The combination between dealers to fix and maintain a uniform price in the sale of meat throughout the country is an unlawful restraint of trade. (4) The combination of dealers to obtain preferential railroad rates is an unlawful restraint of trade; and (5) All combinations suppressing competition fall under the prohibition of the Sherman Anti-Trust act. On the general principles outlined in this great judgment the numerous prosecutions of the Beef Trust and other combines are now proceeding, although we admit, alas, too slowly.

In 1904 the Supreme Court affirmed the decree of the Circuit Court, Minnesota, enjoining the Northern Securities Company from purchasing, acquiring, receiving, holding, voting or in any manner acting as the owner of any of the shares of stock of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railway Companies, and restraining the Northern Securities Company from exercising any control over the corporate acts of said companies. It was held that the Securities Company was formed for the purpose of acquiring a majority of the stock of the two companies in order to effect practically a consolidation by controlling rates and restricting and destroying competition in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

In 1905 the Supreme Court affirmed a decree of the Circuit Court, Northern Illinois, enjoining various great packers in Chicago, commonly known as the Beef Trust, from carrying out an unlawful conspiracy entered into between themselves and certain railway companies to suppress competition and to create a monopoly in the purchase of live stock and the sale of dressed meats. This injunction is perpetual. On an indictment of these packers for continued violation of law the individuals

were dismissed on the ground that they had been granted immunity by giving information to the Department of Commerce and Labor, but the indictments against the corporations were sustained.

In 1906 the Supreme Court affirmed various judgments of United States Courts in Wisconsin and Minnesota against the General Paper Company, which had been proceeded against as a trust. After more than two years of litigation the combination was, by the decision of the Supreme Court, finally dissolved.

In 1906 the Supreme Court decided the celebrated Chicago street railway franchise case in favor of the city and against the Traction Trust. By bribery and trickery the street railway companies had attempted in 1865 to secure from the Legislature a franchise extension of more than one hundred years, but the law was carelessly drawn, and although it had been sustained below, the Supreme Court held it to be invalid, thus depriving the corporations of so-called rights in the streets which had been capitalized at more than \$100,000,000.

The notable decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States mentioned above having established the constitutionality of the laws most frequently invoked against combinations and mergers in restraint of trade, a great number of prosecutions have been begun in the inferior United States courts, nearly all of which are still pending. Of those wherein indictments have been found or judgment reached some of the most important are these:

In 1899 a bill was filed in the Circuit Court, Southern Ohio, to annul a contract and dissolve a combination of producers and shippers of coal in Ohio and West Virginia formed for the purpose of selling coal at not less than a given price, to be fixed by a committee. The trust was enjoined and the combination was dissolved.

In 1902 the Circuit Court, Northern California, perpetually enjoined the Federal Salt Company (the Salt Trust) from suppressing competition west of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1903 the Salt Trust was indicted in the same court, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to pay a fine of \$4,000.

In 1905 the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company was convicted in Missouri, under the Elkins act, of charging less than established freight rates and was fined \$15,000. Similar prosecutions in Kentucky resulted also in convictions and fines.

In 1905, in Missouri, Thomas & Taggart were convicted of conspiracy to obtain rebates. Thomas was sentenced to jail for six months and fined \$6,000 and Taggart was sentenced to jail for three months and fined \$4,000.

In 1905 Weil and others were convicted in Illinois of receiving rebates and were fined \$25,000 each.

In 1905 the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company and various of its officers were convicted in Illinois of granting rebates. The corporation was fined \$40,000 and the officers \$10,000 each.

In 1906 proceedings were begun in the Southern District of New York against the Tobacco Trust. These resulted in several convictions, fines of \$10,000 and \$8,000 being inflicted upon two of the defendants.

In 1906 bills to restrain the National Association of Retail Druggists were filed in Indiana, and indictments against thirty-one corporations and twenty-five individuals engaged in a combination to control the manufacture and sale of fertilizers were found by the Grand Jury in the Middle District of Tennessee.

In 1906 Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Nelson Morris Company and the Cudahy Company, of Chicago, were convicted in Missouri of receiving rebates and were fined \$15,000 each.

In 1906 the American Sugar Refining Company and others were convicted in New York of receiving rebates, and fines aggregating \$88,000 were inflicted.

In 1906 the New York Central and Hudson River Railway Company and others were convicted in New York of granting rebates, and fines aggregating \$114,000 were assessed.

In 1906 the Ann Arbor Railroad Company was convicted in Michigan of granting rebates and was fined \$15,000.

In 1907 John M. Falthorn, of the Chicago and Alton Railway Company, was convicted in Illinois of granting rebates and was fined \$25,000.

In 1907 the Standard Oil Company, of Indiana, was convicted in Illinois on 1,462 counts of receiving rebates and was sentenced to pay a fine of \$29,240,000.

The National Government now has suits against the Standard Oil Company pending in five States—Missouri, New York, Louisiana, Tennessee and Illinois. The total number of counts in all the indictments is 6,326. The suit in Missouri is for the dissolution of the trust.

In 1907 the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Company was convicted on fifty counts in the United States Court at St. Paul of rebating. Sentence has not been passed.

In 1905 John H. Mitchell, United States Senator from Oregon, was indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to six months in jail by the United States Court in Oregon through his complicity in land frauds against the Government. Scores of other indictments were returned and many convictions obtained.

In 1906 the Supreme Court finally sustained the verdict in the case of Joseph R. Burton, United States Senator from Kansas, convicted in the United States Court at St. Louis for accepting a pecuniary consideration for practising before the departments at Washington, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in jail. United States Senator Borah, of Idaho, was indicted, tried only a few weeks ago and acquitted by a jury.

People who are inclined to accept your dissertations on "government by injunction," Mr. Bryan, as something particularly dangerous to the poor, will not overlook the fact that in most of the proceedings against trusts, combinations and rebates the Government's first move has been made by injunction. They will not overlook the fact that the injunction is employed fully as often for the protection of the public as for the protection of private property.

The cases here cited destroy your assertions and arguments as to the Federal Courts as effectively as the record of the country's material prosperity has confounded your free silver prophecies of calamity.

It is not strange, perhaps, that there should have been a feeling of popular resentment against these courts in 1896. Hard times had led to hostility to wealth, hostility to wealth had led to hostility to property, and hostility to property had led to hostility to every agency which protected property in its just rights.

The Supreme Court very unfortunately had found the new Income Tax law invalid because it was in conflict with the constitutional provision relating to the apportionment of direct taxes among the States. District and circuit courts of the United States had undertaken by injunction to

protect the property and the business of railroad companies from destruction by strikers. The President had employed United States troops to enforce the writs of these courts and to protect Government property.

In all these there was nothing new and novel. The Supreme Court had pointed out the unconstitutionality of laws passed by Congress in other days. Inferior Federal courts had at all times employed the writ of injunction to safeguard valuable rights, public or private, when menaced with irreparable injury. Presidents of the United States had used the military arm to enforce Federal laws and to protect Government property. Washington did it at the time of the whiskey rebellion in Pennsylvania and Lincoln did it in 1861-65.

But many of those whom you call "the plain people," Mr. Bryan, men who have had neither the time nor the opportunity to read and investigate for themselves, could not have been expected to know or understand these things. It was not strange if, in the general turmoil, they should have been ignorant of the fact that the Federal courts have been almost universally regarded as bulwarks of American liberty, order and independence; that the Supreme Court of the United States is the most august tribunal on earth; that no other body of men clothed with such power has ever shown so little disposition to abuse it.

The rank and file of voters could not have been expected to know, either, that if the United States Supreme Court has safeguarded property it has protected the small possessions of the poor no less than the great possessions of the rich. If it has checked the rapacity of ill-advised popular movements it has also stayed the greed of combinations inimical to the rights of the people. If it has overruled State Legislatures and courts it has also overruled the National Congress and the inferior national courts and determined for all time that this must be a government of constitution and due process of law.

You, Mr. Bryan, could have been expected to know these things. Yet, even granting that you might have been honestly deceived then as to the intelligence, the integrity and impartiality of the United States Supreme Court, you have never recanted.

On the contrary, in the face of the history-making decisions of the last eight years which we have enumerated, there has been no expressed change of opinion on your part. You are still presumably hostile to the Federal courts, you continue to urge the election of Federal judges by popular vote, as if some deep-seated wrong rested upon their appointment, and have proposed that they should serve for limited terms, as if law and justice would be jeopardized if they were not made subject periodically to popular caprice or excitement and were not nominated by the Platts, the Odells, the Murphys, the McCarens and the Woodruffs of American politics. You have even devised a new scheme of State rights which means neither more nor less than depriving the Federal courts of powers which they exercise under the Constitution of the United States.

THE RISE AND FALL OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

Decisive as was the result of the 1896 election, Mr. Bryan, you professed to be undaunted and undismayed. You began at once the compilation of a history of the campaign, which was copyrighted and published under the militant title of "The First Battle." In the concluding chapter of that history you asserted that "we have reason to believe that 1900 will mark the overthrow of the single gold standard."

You were confident that you would be renominated in 1900. You pretended to be confident that the gold standard would be overthrown, but you were too shrewd a politician to put all your eggs in one basket. Accordingly, when the Spanish-American War began, knowing the value of a military reputation in politics, you had the Governor of Nebraska commission you as a colonel of a volunteer regiment. You were not mistaken as to the political value of a military reputation, but by the irony of fate the profits were all confiscated, not by the Colonel of the Third Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, but by the Colonel of the "Rough Riders"—the First United States Volunteer Cavalry.

The Spanish-American War, however, gave you an opportunity to render a great and glorious service to American institutions. Let us see what use you made of that opportunity.

The Treaty of Paris, as finally drafted, provided for the cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States. Intelligent public sentiment ran strong against such an un-American experiment in Oriental colonization. It is understood that a majority of the American Peace Commissioners themselves were opposed to the acquisition of the archipelago, and yielded only after they had been so instructed by President McKinley.

Distinguished Republicans as well as distinguished Democrats opposed the ratification of the treaty. The debate in the United States Senate lasted more than four weeks. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Senator Hale, of Maine, both lifelong Republicans and both unsurpassed in ability by any of their colleagues, were among the Senators who most strenuously resisted the new departure in the Orient. There have been few more dramatic scenes in the United States Senate than when the venerable Senator from Massachusetts, at the close of a speech which ranks among the classics of American oratory, called the roll of three generations of American statesmen and summoned the illustrious dead to give testimony in their own words on the policy of William McKinley—and only Aaron Burr voted "Aye."

And where were you, Mr. Bryan? You were exerting your influence in favor of the ratification of the treaty. Of the 57 Senators who voted in favor of it 17 were Democrats and Populists. Of these 17 many arrayed themselves on the side of imperialism at your instigation. Of the 27 Senators who voted against the treaty 5 were Republicans and Populists. It is evident that but for your influence the treaty could not have commanded the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution, for it was ratified by the bare majority of a single vote.

Afterward, when taxed with inconsistency, you sought to justify your action by saying: "I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected." In other words, you thought a great wrong should be done in order that you might fight the great wrong after it was accomplished. How you fought it is part of the history of the campaign of 1900.

When the Democratic National Convention met in Kansas City, July 4, 1900, your renomination was a foregone conclusion, and it was a certainty also that the convention would denounce the McKinley Administration's Philippine policy. The issue which was in doubt was whether you would force the party again to declare in favor of the free coinage of silver.

All thoughtful Democrats realized the folly of chaining the party to the course of free silver. Not only had the prediction of "The First Battle" failed miserably of realization, but the gold standard, far from

being overthrown, was irrevocably established. Democrats everywhere were asking themselves if you would submit to the inevitable, recognize the supremacy of fact over theory and make possible the re-establishment of harmony in the party. They did not ask you to recant. They did not insist that you cover yourself with sackcloth and ashes. They did not urge you to confess that you had been in the wrong four years previous. They prayed only that you would recognize the situation as it existed.

You answered their petition in a telegram printed in New York the day the convention met in Kansas City—

If by any chance the Committee on Resolutions decides to report a platform in which there is not a silver plank there must be a minority report and a fight on the floor of the convention. I will come to Kansas City on the fastest train available, make a fight for free silver on the floor of the convention, and then decline to take the nomination if the convention omits the ratio. This is final.

W. J. BRYAN.

David B. Hill, who was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, went to Lincoln, Neb., and besought you to recede from this position. He found you determined and inexorable. All the concession you would make was that the issue of anti-imperialism might be declared paramount, but the Chicago platform must be reaffirmed. Accordingly the Committee on Resolutions, after an all-night session, reported your own platform, which, by the way, was carried only by the vote of the member from Hawaii. Thus the incubus of free silver was fastened upon the party for four years more.

What the convention said against anti-imperialism expressed the views, not only of a majority of Democrats, but of tens of thousands of Republicans, particularly in the doubtful States of the North and East:

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not so derived from the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic.

We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it; for in violation of it we assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

We denounce the Philippine policy of the present Administration. It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.

The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they are not subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the Republic into an empire we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Philippines first, a stable form of government; secondly, independence, and thirdly, protection from outside interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea falls when brought to the test of facts.

The war of criminal aggression against the Philippines, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty the price is always too high.

All this was, in the main, admirable, but even here the Democratic party could not escape from your own record in promoting the ratification of the treaty, ably and plausibly as you defended it in your speech of acceptance, a part of which, in justice to you, we are glad to spread upon the record:

When the war with Spain was over and the Republican leaders began to suggest the propriety of a colonial policy, opposition at once manifested itself. When the President finally laid before the Senate a treaty which recognized the independence of Cuba, but provided for the cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States, the menace of imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty and risk the ills that might follow rather than take the chance of correcting the errors of the treaty by the independent action of this country.

I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers and remove the excuse for war expenditures, and then give to the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty.

In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation. Lincoln said: "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified, a clean-cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled. If the treaty had been rejected the opponents of imperialism would have been held responsible for any international complications which might have arisen before the ratification of another treaty. * * *

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform, and it is submitted with confidence to the American people.

The Indianapolis speech was the best of your whole political life, and it gave promise for the future. If you had not made another speech and could have made the people believe that anti-imperialism was the paramount question you would have received the votes of many thousands of thinking men who were reluctantly forced later on to support Mr. McKinley.

Conventions may declare this issue or that issue paramount, but it is the people who make campaigns. The Republicans soon forced you to face your past record and to revive the 16 to 1 folly. The paramount issue was soon subordinated; the free silver issue was revived; you were compelled to defend the 1896 platform which the Kansas City Convention reaffirmed under duress, and the Democratic party went down to another defeat far more decisive than that of 1896.

"MAKING TREASON ODIUS."

As the choicest flower of the 1896 campaign was "The First Battle," so the ripe fruit of the 1900 campaign was "The Commoner," \$1 a year in advance, "sample copies free."

To have his own personal newspaper organ is an advantage of no mean importance to a perpetual candidate. To be able to instruct a great political party weekly in all its multifarious duties, policies and principles is a privilege which none of your predecessors ever attained. In addition, to reap from such instruction an income which might well excite the envy of the average corporation lawyer is an achievement which no previous leader of the Democratic party ever dreamed of.

For years you and your friends have insisted that Democrats who refused to support you on principle in 1896 should be treated as traitors to the party. Your attitude toward them has been that of Sumner and Thad Stevens toward the Southern States. You, too, have implored your followers to "make treason odious," and, judging from your attitude alone, a foreign observer of American affairs like De Tocqueville, Bryce or Von Holst would be justified in assuming that the Gold Democrats of 1896 were inhabitants of a conquered province.

For the only Democratic President elected since the civil war you have reserved your choicest vituperation. Hardly four years ago you said of him in a speech at Urbana, O.: "The Democrats in 1892 played a confidence game on the people and put a bunco-steerer at the head of the party." In a signed statement issued June 22, 1902, you said that Mr. Cleveland secured his nomination in 1892 by a secret bargain with financiers; that he spent the largest campaign fund the party ever had;

that he filled his Cabinet with corporation agents; that he placed railroad lawyers on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, and that, having debauched his party, he stabbed it to death to prevent its return to the paths of virtue.

When an Indiana Democratic convention indorsed you for President but failed to reaffirm your 16 to 1 theory, you publicly rebuked the delegates and insinuated that they had made a compromise with the enemy.

You have repeatedly refused invitations from Democratic clubs, in which refusals you ridiculed the idea of harmony in the party and questioned the honesty of those who urged it.

When the Iowa Democrats neglected to indorse the free coinage of silver and timidly ventured to suggest that "the money of the nation be guarded with zealous care," you told them that their financial plank savored of Wall street and that it was framed to deceive the people.

You ordered the Democratic National Committeeman from Illinois to resign, and when he refused you commanded the State convention to repudiate him. When the convention declined to obey your instructions you intimated that there was no true Democratic party in the State.

In May, 1903, you made an attack upon the Democratic press of the United States, saying that it was as monopolistic as any of the Republican newspapers. Oct. 10, 1907, in a speech at Richmond, Va., you charged that the great metropolitan newspapers, which are all but unanimously opposed to you, were controlled by the trusts and their columns open to the highest bidder.

When the Democratic National Convention of 1904 met in St. Louis, Judge Parker's nomination for President was assured, despite the fact that the Nebraska Achilles was sulking in his tent. Your objection to Judge Parker was based on the solitary fact that some of his most ardent supporters had not been Bryanites, although the poor Judge had voted for you both in 1896 and in 1900.

As a member of the Committee on Resolutions you battled desperately to prevent the convention from declaring the money question a closed incident. You knew that it was; you subsequently admitted in your Madison Square Garden speech substantially what Judge Parker's friends wished to incorporate into the platform; yet you refused to allow the delegates at St. Louis to wipe the financial issue off the slate, and notwithstanding Judge Parker's telegram, suggested by The World, declaring the gold standard to be irrevocably established, your influence on the convention destroyed in advance all prospects of a Democratic victory and gave Mr. Roosevelt a walkover.

But to make Democratic defeat doubly certain, you said, after announcing that you would support Judge Parker as the choice of evils:

A Democratic victory will mean very little, if any, progress on economic questions so long as the party is under the control of the Wall street element. Mr. Parker is as thoroughly committed to the side of the financiers as Mr. Roosevelt. After the party had rejoiced over the harmony secured by the omission of the money question from the platform and after he had secured the nomination he injected his views upon the subject at a time when he could not be taken from the ticket without demoralization. The nomination was therefore secured by crooked and indefensible methods.

After having stated that I shall support the ticket, I think it due to the Democrats of the nation to say that while the fight on economic questions is postponed it is not abandoned. As soon as the election is over I shall, with the help of those who believe as I do, undertake to organize for the campaign of 1908, the object being to marshal the friends of popular government against the Democratic party to the support of a radical and progressive policy to make the Democratic party an efficient instrument for securing relief from the plutocratic element that controls the Republican party and for the time being is in control of the Democratic party.

In spite of your well-known delicacy of sentiment, you did not wait for the verdict at the polls in 1904 before undertaking "to reorganize for the campaign of 1908." You had already selected a new "paramount issue," and you proceeded to exploit it while loyal Democrats were battling to stem the wave of Roosevelt popularity.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

Most people believe that your first proclamation of government ownership of railways was made at New York City Aug. 30, 1906, on your return from Europe. Such is not the case. The plan of reorganization to "rid the Democratic party of plutocracy," which you promised on the adjournment of the Kansas City Convention in 1904, was given to a waiting world on July 21, 1904. You stated the case of government ownership of railroads as follows:

I have heretofore refused to take a position on the question of government ownership of railroads, first, because I had not until recently studied the subject, and secondly, because the question had not been reached. Recent events have convinced me that the time is now ripe for the presentation of this question. Consideration after consideration has taken place until a few men now control the railroad traffic of the country and defy both the legislative and executive power of the nation. I invite the Democrats, therefore, to consider a plan for the government ownership and operation of the railroads.

The plan usually suggested is for the purchase of those roads by the Federal Government. This plan, it seems to me, is more objectionable than a plan which involves the ownership and operation of these roads by the several States. To put the railroads in the hands of the Federal Government would mean an enormous centralization of power. It would give to the Federal Government a largely increased influence over the citizen and the citizen's affairs, and such centralization is not at all necessary. **The several States can own and operate the railroads within their borders just as effectively as it can be done by the Federal Government, and if it is done by the States the objection based upon the fear of centralization is entirely answered.** A Board composed of representatives from the various States could deal with interstate traffic just as freight and passenger boards now deal with the joint traffic of the various lines. If the Federal Government had the railroads to build there would be constant rivalry between different sections to secure a fair share of the new building and improvement, but where this is left to the State the people in each State can decide what railroads they desire to build or to buy.

While the Democratic party in the nation is advocating the **government ownership of railroads** the Democratic party in the cities should upon the same theory espouse the cause of **municipal ownership** of municipal franchises.

Later, in April, 1905, at a dinner given by the Iroquois Club, of Chicago, on the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, the greatest of American individualists, you repeated and elaborated this highly ornamental scheme of triple State Socialism.

Aug. 29, 1906, you returned to New York in triumph from a trip around the world, to be greeted by Democrats from nearly every State in the Union as their candidate for President. In the course of an interview at London, where you had distinguished yourself at the Peace Congress, you said you were more radical than ever.

To prove your own words, you undertook in your speech at Madison Square Garden, Aug. 30, to sound the keynote of a government ownership campaign:

I have already reached the **conclusion** that railroads partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they must ultimately become public property and be managed by public officials in the interest of the whole community, in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible.

I do not know whether a majority of the members of the party to which I have the honor to belong believe in the government ownership of railroads, but my theory is that no man can call a mass convention to decide what he himself shall think I have reached the **conclusion** that there will be no permanent relief on the railroad question from discrimination between individuals and between places and from extortionate rates until the **railroads are the property of the Government and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.**

And I believe that there is a growing belief in all parties that this solution, be it far or near, is the ultimate solution. But to me, my friends, the danger of centralization is a danger that cannot be brushed aside. The greatest danger of a republic is the centralization of power at the capital remote from the people, and because I believe that the ownership of all the railroads by the Federal Government would so centralize power as virtually to obliterate State lines, instead of favoring the Federal ownership of all railroads I favor the Federal ownership of trunk lines only and the State ownership of all the rest of the railroads.

Fortunately for Republican institutions, Southern Democrats had not wholly forgotten the historic principles of their party. While most of them had favored Mr. Roosevelt's policy of government regulation, few of them were in sympathy with your policy of government ownership.

Impressed by vehement protests against the marriage of Democracy to State Socialism, you began at Louisville, Sept. 12, 1906, your masterful retreat:

I advocate strict regulation and shall rejoice if experience proves that that regulation can be made effective. * * * Yet I would not be honest with you if I did not frankly admit that observation has convinced me that **government ownership can be undertaken on the plan indicated with less danger to the country than is involved in private ownership as we have had it or as we are likely to have it.** * * * You say that all these abuses can be corrected without interference with private ownership. I shall be glad if experience proves that they can be, but I no longer hope for it.

The retreat ended at Lincoln, July 19, 1907, when you asked for an armistice in these words:

Government ownership is not an immediate issue. A large majority of the people still hope for effective regulation, and while they so hope they will not consider ownership. While many Democrats believe—and Mr. Bryan is one of the number—that public ownership offers the ultimate solution of the problem, still, those who believe that the public will finally in self defense be driven to ownership recognize that regulation must be tried under the most favorable circumstances before the masses will be ready to try a more radical remedy.

Regulation cannot be sufficiently tried within the next year. **There is no desire anywhere to make government ownership an issue in 1908.**

At present there may be no desire anywhere to make government ownership an issue in 1908, but if you are the Democratic candidate for President the Republicans will force the issue upon the country. There can be no escape from it.

Do you think the Democratic party can convince voters that it honestly favors regulation of railroads if it nominates a candidate who believes in government ownership and who has proclaimed in advance his belief that regulation will prove a failure? Do you think that the American people could safely trust you to carry out a policy of regulation with which you have no sympathy and for whose effectiveness to remedy abuses you have no hope?

You would not have expected them in 1896 to elect you President in order to establish the gold standard? How can you ask them in 1908 to elect you President to carry out a railroad policy which you have already condemned to failure?

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

If you are not a safe leader and a wise statesman, Mr. Bryan, you are at least a prudent politician. You never abandon one issue until you have found another to take its place; so we find that weeks before you scuttled government ownership you had made preparations to transfer your political possessions to a new issue—the initiative and referendum.

The supreme importance of this new revolution in American institutions you explained in your speech at the Jefferson Day dinner of the Brooklyn Democratic Club, April 16, 1907:

You may help it, you may retard it, you may defeat it, but one of the things that is coming, that is Jeffersonian, that is Democratic, is the initiative and referendum for the control of the Government. No man will make an argument against the referendum who is not prepared to deny the capacity of the people for self-government.

You may differ from me on every question, but if you do not believe in the right of the people to govern themselves I will drive you out of the Democratic party, and if the Democratic party does not believe in the rule of the people it will have no trouble in driving me out of the Democratic party, but I do not think that is coming to the test.

Thus we discover that you have imposed a new oath of allegiance upon the bewildered Democrat, a new article of faith. Unless he believes that the principle of a New England town meeting can be successfully applied to the Government of the United States, with 80,000,000 people, he is excommunicate and damned.

The Initiative and Referendum is a large, mouth-filling expression, but it is neither new nor novel. It was well understood before you were born, Mr. Bryan. It has reached its most perfect development in Switzerland, which has an area of 15,981 square miles, or about twice that of the State of New Jersey, and a population of 3,315,999, or considerably less than that of New York City.

It is divided into twenty-two cantons and half-cantons, and these in turn comprehend about 3,000 communes. The people speak various languages, but by reason of the simplicity of their government, their intelligence, their conservatism and their passionate devotion to democracy and liberty, they have been able since the establishment of the federation to avoid serious friction.

A theory by which government would be actively participated in by all the people is exceedingly plausible, no doubt; but how would it work in New York City, in Chicago, in Philadelphia and in other cities? How would it work in the several States? How in the nation?

Will you be kind enough to explain, Mr. Bryan, how you would apply the principle of the referendum to a difficult and complicated piece of legislation like the New York Insurance Code or the Public Utilities law?

There are not a dozen lawyers in New York who could have drafted either of these bills. There is not a single lawyer in the State who would stake his professional reputation on the actual working-out of either of these measures. Both of these laws must be carefully tried and judged by experience before anybody can know how satisfactory they are and how fully they serve the purpose for which they were enacted.

Do you mean to tell us, if these two statutes had been referred to the New York voters at the November election last year, that such Referendum could have been anything but a monumental farce? Do you mean to tell us that until these laws have been tested and tried the opinion of 4,500,000 voters or 15,000,000 as to the technical merit of the acts in question could have the slightest value whatever?

We beg you to apply the same tests to the Railroad Rate law, to which you have given a grudging approval. Will you venture to tell us that the people of the United States at the polls are competent or disinterested enough to say whether or not that act as it stands accomplishes what they want accomplished? Can you yourself declare, definitely and precisely, just what powers the commission may exercise

and what it may not? If you can, you will show that you yourself are probably fit for the Referendum, and at the same time you will lift a heavy load of doubt and anxiety from the shoulders of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The men who created this Republic knew more about Switzerland than you do. Not only that, they knew more about all of the pure democracies, real and ideal, that ever existed in fact or in fancy than you can ever hope to know while you talk so much and write so excessively.

The Fathers were not building for a day or for a century. As Madison said, "Our regulations are intended to be perpetual." They beheld the ruins of all the pure democracies that had ever existed and turned from them sorrowfully, not because they did not admire them, but because these pure democracies had perished.

The representative principle, not the market place, is the foundation stone of our government. Take that away and a government of some sort might remain, but it would not be the American government. We govern ourselves through the agency of men to whom we delegate power for a season. This power is strictly limited and regulated by constitutions, by laws and by precedents.

There is complaint in some quarters—and you, Mr. Bryan, are always quick to hear a complaint—that our representatives are false and inefficient, but will anybody say that if we are not capable of selecting representatives wisely we are likely to have greater success in attempting en masse for ourselves to do the things which we cannot prevail upon our specially selected and presumably fittest agents to do for us?

The idea is preposterous and worse. Most of the complaint that is made is due to the fact that many people are impatient of any delay in the execution of their will, and thus not a little of the demand for a Referendum government comes from men who imagine that in that manner all the checks and balances of the Constitution would be disposed of.

Would they? Most assuredly they would not, unless the referendum principle were to be applied to the action of courts and executives as well as to legislatures and congresses. We might come to that; indeed, it sometimes seems as if we were already on the way, but when that dark possibility shall appear in its true light we shall look confidently to you, Mr. Bryan, for words of warning which will in that day, we hope, prove more inspiring than your advocacy of incipient revolution for campaign purposes can possibly be in this.

We have now and we always have had an American Referendum. We have not called it by that name, unhappily, but we have it, nevertheless. We pass by popular vote upon constitutions, upon amendments to constitutions, upon important works involving taxation and upon many other things which may properly be submitted to the people. Every election is a Referendum in its application to the party in power. Every platform is the Initiative.

Why should we undertake to burden 80,000,000 of people with the details of our complicated government, expecting them in their aggregate capacity to do better than the men whom they select to act for them? Must we sacrifice the fundamental principle of republican institutions and the American system of government, Mr. Bryan, merely to give you a campaign issue?

DEMOCRACY, POPULISM, SOCIALISM.

No review of your leadership of the Democratic party would be just or adequate, Mr. Bryan, which did not uncover the sources of your political policies and principles.

Your first notable appearance in public life was in 1890, when you were elected to Congress from Nebraska in the popular uprising against the McKinley tariff. At that time, we believe, you were an ardent free trader, and you were also a believer in the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, which was then more or less of an academic issue in spite of a growing agitation.

In 1892 you were a candidate for re-election. The Populist party had then reached formidable proportions in many Western States, including Nebraska. It was composed almost wholly of discontented Republicans. You and certain other Nebraska Democrats in that year arranged an illegitimate fusion with the Populists, by which the Democratic vote was to be cast for Gen. Weaver, a Populist who was formerly a Republican. This succeeded so well that Mr. Cleveland received only 23,000 votes. You yourself voted the Weaver ticket, under "instructions," as you say, and were a warm admirer of the Republican-Greenback-Populist leader.

At the close of your second term you retired from Congress. It was said that you had lost faith in the Democratic party, believing that it, no less than the Republican party, was committed to Privilege and Plutocracy. It was reported, too, that you would devote yourself to the free silver propaganda under the patronage of certain mine-owners. Whether there was any truth in this gossip or not, you achieved a journalistic coup soon after your retirement from Congress by which you became editor-in-chief of the Omaha World-Herald, and a conservative Democratic newspaper was transformed into an organ of aggressive Populism.

Dr. George L. Miller, who founded this newspaper and managed it for twenty-five years, said in 1903: "It is perfectly well known that Bryan, always very poor and as a lawyer practically clientless, raised a large sum of money from the silver barons and used it to bring about the change in the World-Herald. Mr. Bryan thus became the editor, and from that hour he has been a Populist."

You found time from your journalistic duties to travel in the West and make free silver speeches, thus becoming in a double sense what the delectable Quigg describes as "an accelerator of public opinion." This was substantially your status when you went to the Chicago Convention in 1896 at the head of a contesting delegation from Nebraska.

We find that the Populist national platform of the year 1892, when you voted the Weaver ticket, defined the following articles of faith: (1) Government ownership and operation of all railroads. (2) The free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. (3) Inflation of greenback circulation. (4) Government ownership and operation of all telegraph and telephone lines. (5) Restriction of immigration. (6) The initiative and referendum. (7) The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

This platform also expressed the belief that the nation had been "brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin"; that legislatures, congresses and courts were corrupt; that the press was sub-

dized; that there were only two classes in the country, tramps and millionaires, and that both the old parties were keeping up a fictitious hostility in order to hoodwink the people for the profit of the money-changers.

The political alliance which you helped to form that year in Nebraska has since been made permanent, the Populists supplying the platform in each campaign and the Democrats the votes.

An examination of the Democratic and Populist platforms in Nebraska since 1892 shows how, from time to time, the issues of that year have been reaffirmed and amplified.

In 1897 the Democrats condemned United States judges who interfered with lawless strikers. In 1898 they demanded the abolition of banks of issue and the prohibition of private contracts for the payment of gold. In 1899 they indorsed everything contained in the Populist platform of 1892 and the Democratic-Populist platforms of 1896. In 1900 they reaffirmed all that had gone before, added a denunciation of government by injunction and favored municipal ownership and the referendum.

In 1902 they demanded the taxation of all railroad property, tangible and intangible, to its full value, and favored a reduction of 15 per cent. in freight rates on various commodities and the abolition of the fellow-servant law. In 1903 they denounced asset currency, preferring fiat money. In 1904 they subscribed to a stump-speech sort of platform, telling what they would have done during the preceding ten years if they had been in power. In 1905 they wanted to make the giving and the acceptance of a free railroad pass a criminal offense and to establish direct primaries. They also made light of Republican prosecutions of the trusts. In 1906 they rejoiced that Mr. Bryan had become the "first citizen of the world," and deplored the fact that corporate influence was paramount in government.

In 1907 they made a new assault on the Federal courts under pretense of defending State rights. As you drafted that plank, Mr. Bryan, you will doubtless thank us for reproducing it:

Believing with Jefferson in "the support of the State governments in all their rights and the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns as the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies," and in "the preservation of the Federal Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad," we are opposed to the centralization implied in the suggestions now frequently made that the powers of the general government should be extended by judicial construction. While we favor the exercise by the general government of all its constitutional authority for the prevention of monopoly and for the regulation of interstate commerce, we insist that Federal remedies shall be added to and not substituted for State remedies.

Stripped of its verbiage, this means neither more nor less than that when a State Legislature has passed a railroad rate law the Federal courts must not suspend the act by writs of injunction preparatory to determining whether or not the statute is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. Thus your new State rights, Mr. Bryan, is really your old "government by injunction" issue under an alias.

The Populistic, the Silver Republican and the Middle-of-the-Road Populistic conventions in Nebraska for the last fifteen years have uniformly adopted platforms which did not vary much from those of their Democratic allies except that in two or three instances they called for an irredeemable paper currency. In all of these platforms it is to be understood that the issues raised in 1892 by the Populists and in 1896 by the Democrats were affirmed either by specific reference or as a whole.

In your own State, Mr. Bryan, you are no less well known as a maker of platforms than as an orator. It is to be presumed that you were not only consulted about all these various party pronouncements, but that practically all of them were the work of your own brain. To call the long roll, therefore, we find that you, Mr. Bryan, as the foremost Populist in America, have supported and voted for candidates who represented the following political principles:

- Free silver, 16 to 1, without the concurrence of other nations.
- Government loans to farmers.
- Government ownership and operation of railroads.
- Greenback inflation (irredeemable).
- Government ownership and operation of telegraph and telephone lines.
- Election of United States Senators by popular vote.
- Initiative and referendum.
- Election of United States Judges by direct vote and for short terms.
- A promise to pack the Supreme Court of the United States.
- No government "by injunction."
- Opposition to private contracts providing for the payment of gold.
- Government ownership of interstate railroads and State ownership of State railroads.

- Municipal ownership of all public utilities in cities.
- Crippling the United States courts and contracting their jurisdiction over questions arising under the Constitution.

We can well believe, Mr. Bryan, that you were well satisfied with that Populistic platform of 1892, when you voted the Weaver ticket; for with the exception of anti-imperialism every important issue which you have since foisted or tried to foist upon the Democratic party was taken from that platform. You yourself whimsically complain that Mr. Roosevelt stole your clothes. If he did, he only stole from you what you had already stolen from Greenbackism and Populism. They were, never the garments of true Democracy. You will find that most of them were manufactured by the so-called Labor-Reform Convention of 1872, which marked the beginning of the Greenback-Populist movement in national politics. That Labor-Reform platform of 1872 might have been framed by you yourself, Mr. Bryan, so well does it exemplify your theories of government. But, for that matter, the style of your political garments is much older than this. It can be traced back to Solon and Lycurgus, if one wished, both of these distinguished statesmen being hearty advocates of debased money and repudiation. Indeed, we think it likely that the oldest and perhaps the most popular of all political doctrines is that of repudiation. The desire to pay debts is wholly an acquired virtue.

But you have done more—and worse—Mr. Bryan, than merely pervert Democratic principles. By boldly championing repudiation through the medium of 50-cent dollars you succeeded in intrenching Wall street and plutocracy in their wrong-doing. But for you the present movement against the money power and the trusts would have begun in 1896. Housecleaning cannot be performed when the premises are threatened by fire. You set the fire in 1896 which wise men of every political creed were compelled to extinguish at any cost. Ever since that time your economic violence and your uncompromising Populism have hampered the work of reform by leaving the Republican party virtually without opposition.

On the debit side of your account we may find the following items: (1) The return of the Republican party to power; (2) Hannaism and the open partnership between the Government and the corporations; (3) The obstruction and delay of the natural progress of reform and the natural expression of public opinion against trusts through the general alarm awakened by your policies; (4) Wall street's opportunity to loot the public under pretext of maintaining the public credit and vindicating the "national honor;" (5) the growth of Socialism through the disintegrating of the Democratic party.

A man of your ability and address, Mr. Bryan, cannot forever assail constitutions, courts, law, wealth, property, credit, national honor and private faith without building up a following which will have to be reckoned with some time. He cannot forever inflame social discontent without creating class hatreds and sowing the seeds of a class war.

Socialism is more active and eager now than ever before, and, as most people know, the line dividing Socialism and anarchy, though in theory they are far apart, is not always definite. Socialism, listening expectantly for your footsteps, has heard them in rapture more than once. Whether you know it or not, that is the direction in which you are leading. If you believe we are mistaken, by all means visit the east side and hear Socialist orators quote you as their authority for the charge that the social order is hopeless in the United States and that government is only the tool of capitalism.

ROOSEVELT AND BRYAN.

We have been discussing your leadership, Mr. Bryan, from the standpoint of political principles. Let us examine it now from the point of view of practical politics.

You have said that the three chief issues of the 1908 campaign would be railroads, the tariff and the trusts. Assuming for the time being that you could fight the campaign on your own ground and that the issues you have named would be the issues of the contest, do you think that your theories would stand the ghost of a shadow of a chance against Mr. Roosevelt's record of actual achievement?

Nominally a Republican, Mr. Roosevelt in many respects is as good a Democrat as you are. For forty years Democrats have denounced Wall street, the corporations, the money power, monopolies and railroad corruption in all its forms. But what Democrat has ever done as much as Mr. Roosevelt to remedy the abuses which these terms imply?

Whatever may have been his motives and however numerous his faults, he has accomplished more in actual practice against the abuses of Wall street and the excesses of organized wealth than all the Democrats of the United States put together.

As President, Mr. Roosevelt, like you, has been a man of words, words, words—most violent words—but he has also been a man of action, action, action. He has done what you declaimed about. He has not accomplished everything that he has attempted, but he has accomplished much. He has initiative. He has courage. He has political skill. He has great popularity. More important than all else, he has power!

In all these things Mr. Roosevelt has disciples, too, in the Republican party. He is a leader who leads. He has assistants who assist. Could you, Mr. Bryan, defeat him and them on their own ground? Could you defeat Taft, or Hughes, or even Cannon?

After what President Roosevelt and the Republican party have actually done in the way of regulating railroads, would the American people trust you in preference to them to enforce Mr. Roosevelt's rate law?

After what he and his Administration have actually done in the enforcement of the Sherman law, would the people trust you in preference to them to curb monopolies?

Still remembering the last Democratic tariff, which, by the way, you had a hand in framing, would the American people be the more likely to trust you or a Republican to revise the tariff and correct the excesses of Dingleyism?

Democrats need not deceive themselves with the idea that if you should be nominated the issues would be of your making. On that rock they have gone to shipwreck before. The issues will be made not by you, but by the Republican party, armed with the record of History.

So far as the Democrats are concerned, the issue cannot be the government ownership of railroads or the initiative and referendum. You pretend to have abandoned the one temporarily, and you no longer threaten to drive Democrats out of the party if they do not subscribe to the other. It cannot be the centralization which you are opposing in Mr. Roosevelt's plea for a national incorporation law, for, bad as that is, it involves far less centralization and far less warping of the Constitution than your own scheme for a Federal license law. It cannot be the new State rights in the form of an assault upon the Federal courts. The American people have learned to spell Nation with a capital N, and even under your leadership we do not believe that the Democratic party could be persuaded to make another assault upon the Nation's judiciary.

But while these issues could bring no strength to the Democrats, they will be most effective weapons in Republican hands if you are nominated for President. Mr. Roosevelt, with the help of an army of able Republican orators and newspapers, may be depended upon to make the most of them. We say Mr. Roosevelt, for whether he is the candidate again or not, he is the leader of the Republican party, he will be the real manager of the 1908 campaign, and the campaign will be fought out on the achievements of his Administration and the record of a Republican Congress.

Do not deceive yourself, Mr. Bryan. In your Freeport speech of Dec. 7, 1907, you conceded that Mr. Roosevelt could be re-elected. If you were the Democratic candidate not only would Mr. Roosevelt be elected, but so would Taft or Hughes or Cannon or any man that a Republican convention would be likely to nominate.

BARTERING DEMOCRACY FOR ROOSEVELT VOTES.

Even if it were conceivable, Mr. Bryan, that the Democratic party might stand a chance of victory with you as its candidate, you have already given away the election in advance. You have sacrificed every vital issue between Democracy and Republicanism.

You have undertaken to make the Democratic party a mere annex to the Roosevelt Administration. You have lost no opportunity to endorse Mr. Roosevelt politically, morally, administratively and personally.

You have undertaken to make yourself the legateé of the Roosevelt policies.

You have undertaken to declare yourself heir to the Roosevelt vote.

You have undertaken to convince the President's supporters that you are a better Roosevelt Republican than is Secretary Taft, whom Mr. Roosevelt has selected as his successor.

If you are allowed to have your way the supreme issue of the campaign must be whether Republicans can more safely trust you or a Republican to carry on the policies of a Republican President and a Republican Administration.

As you defined your purposes in the Commoner of Dec. 20, 1907:

While the Democrats will be glad to know of the President's fixed purpose not to be a candidate, their opposition to his candidacy was not on account of his popularity, for it is not at all certain that he could have polled more votes than any other Republican, but President Roosevelt's candidacy would make it impossible for the Democrats to secure the support of Roosevelt Republicans.

You have absolved Mr. Roosevelt from all blame for the recent financial disturbance. Time after time you have insisted that his reckless, passionate speeches, his government by denunciation, had nothing to do with bringing on the panic, but that the full responsibility rested upon the anonymous persons whom the President describes as "malefactors of great wealth." During all the period of crisis no Republican defended Mr. Roosevelt more eloquently or more effectively than you, for even when you have rejoiced over a Republican panic you have taken pains to insist that he was not to blame.

You have urged the Democrats in Congress to take up Mr. Roosevelt's more radical policies and try to force an issue, on the theory that "the natural fight is between the Democratic party and the reactionary element of the Republican party."

You have lost no opportunity to emphasize the issues in regard to which you and Mr. Roosevelt were in agreement. You have consistently subordinated true Democratic principles when they came in conflict with Mr. Roosevelt's policies. In the course of appealing to the Roosevelt vote you have belittled even the issue of tariff reform, which presents at this time as inviting an opportunity as a real opposition party could desire.

In 1896 and in 1900 you sacrificed the tariff in order to hold the votes of the Populists and Silver Republicans. This year your evident purpose is to sacrifice it in the hope of winning the votes of Roosevelt Republicans. Yet you continue to prattle about "Democratic principles."

ASSASSINATING TARIFF REVISION.

You have done more than belittle the issue of tariff revision, Mr. Bryan. You have gone to the length of impeaching the honor and integrity of those Democrats who have urged their party to return to its historic and victorious issue and grapple with the evil of Dingleyism. In an editorial printed in the Commoner Jan. 24, 1908, you said:

Some of the Democrats who have been indifferent to the trust question and the railroad question are now insisting that tariff reform shall be made the paramount issue and that other questions shall be relegated to the rear. Least this demand shall dissolve some of the rank and file of the party. It may be well to recall a bit of history. The men who are so zealous now in their desire for consideration of tariff reform above all other questions had a chance in 1896 to show their interest in this subject, yet some of these who are now posing as the special guardians of tariff reform did not hesitate to support the Republican ticket.

The fact is—and it might as well be recognized—that some who call themselves Democrats are so closely connected with railroad interests, either as stockholders, legal representatives or financial agents, that they resent any attempt at effective regulation of the railroads. Some of these Democrats are also connected with trusts; some of them hold stock; others are even directors and others are attorneys for trusts. These men—whether consciously or unconsciously—is a matter of opinion—underestimate the importance of the trust question as do those connected with the railroads the railroad question.

In other words, you are seeking to implant a conviction in the minds of your followers that the Democrats who advocate tariff revision are secret agents, employees or stockholders of the trusts and railroads, and that the growing demand for tariff revision is the result of a Wall street conspiracy to protect predatory corporations. Nothing could better suit the High Protectionists than your course, Mr. Bryan. Nothing could better please the trusts that are sheltered under the Dingley schedules. Nothing could be more satisfactory to the Administration, for you are robbing the Democratic party of the one issue on which Mr. Roosevelt and his party are most reluctant to meet an organized and united opposition.

Is it strange, Mr. Bryan, that President Roosevelt, that every member of his Cabinet and that practically every Republican member of Congress is hoping that you will be the Democratic candidate for President?

THE WORLD'S LONG BATTLE FOR REFORM.

The World feels that it can discuss these questions freely and frankly with you, Mr. Bryan, because it was fighting the battle against Privilege and Plutocracy long before you had ever cast a vote for President. It will be fighting this battle long after you have ceased to be a factor in politics.

There is hardly a great issue before the American people above which this newspaper had not raised its standard before you had attained even the dignity of a "Boy Orator."

As long ago as Oct. 9, 1880, Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, now editor and proprietor of The World, in a speech at Indianapolis, warned the American people of the grave danger of money in politics. The great banking, railroad and corporation interests were all supporting the Republican ticket, and the Republican orators, as they have done many times since, were exploiting the issue of prosperity.

Mr. Pulitzer said:

We all want prosperity, but not at the expense of liberty. Poverty is not as great a danger to liberty as wealth, with its corrupting, demoralizing influences. Suppose all the influences I have just reviewed (banks, railroads and protected industries) were to take their hands off instead of supporting the Republican party, would it have a ghost of a chance of success?

Let us have prosperity, but never at the expense of liberty, never at the expense of real self-government, and let us never have a government at Washington owing its retention to the power of the millionaires rather than to the will of the millions.

The same issue was emphatically presented in The World's three-column editorial, "Triumphant Plutocracy," printed March 4, 1889, the day Benjamin Harrison was inaugurated President, and reviewing the shocking use of money in the campaign:

There can be no cure for these evils that does not proceed from an aroused and imperative public opinion. It is the dreadful inertia of indifference that must first be overcome. The people will care if they can be made to feel and see the danger.

This is a work for the pulpit. Where sleep the thunders of righteous condemnation that rolled from the pulpit against human slavery? If the will of the people be the will of God, is not a crime against the suffrage a concern of religion?

It is a work for the press. Public opinion will never be aroused against corruption by the politicians. They will not quarrel with their trade. The press could have done it ere this had it joined with The World in forcing upon Congress the duty of a thorough investigation of the management of the late election by both parties. Exposure, thorough, complete and both-sided, can alone prepare the way for reform—exposure not merely of actual vote buying, but of all election expenses, particularly the so-called "legitimate" expenses of candidates and committees. * * *

The State can apply a remedy by providing ballots and protecting the voters in secrecy in casting them, and by limiting the expenses of campaigns, and by requiring publicity to expenditures, as has been done with such good results in England.

The policies of The World as an advocate of True Democracy, which "will not sanction the swallowing up of liberty by property any more than the swallowing up of property by communism," were stated in an editorial printed May 11, 1883, the day after this newspaper passed under the control of Mr. Pulitzer:

1. Tax luxuries.
2. Tax inheritances.
3. Tax large incomes.
4. Tax monopolies.
5. Tax the privilege of corporations.
6. A tariff for revenue.
7. Reform the civil-service.
8. Punish corrupt office-holders.
9. Punish vote buying.
10. Punish employers who coerce their employees in elections.

Before you, Mr. Bryan, had honored Nebraska with your citizenship The World was leading in the struggle for the Interstate Commerce law. Before you had ever been elected to a public office it was fighting for the Anti-Trust law, now known as the Sherman Act.

While you were making free-silver speeches and denouncing Mr. Cleveland for upholding the gold standard, The World was revealing the real outrage of his financial policy—the private bond sales to the Morgan-Belmont syndicate and the endless chain by which the Treasury was drained of its gold. Even you, Mr. Bryan, cannot have forgotten The World's successful campaign to compel the sale of bonds at popular subscription, inasmuch as it established a precedent which no administration since that time has ever ventured to set aside.

While you were knifing the Democratic ticket in 1904, Mr. Bryan, The World was presenting the issue of "Cortelyou and Corruption" and again arousing the people to the attempts of the great corporations to control the Government through contributions to the Republican National Committee.

While you were abroad resting from your arduous labors The World was exposing the almost unbelievable corruption of the great life insurance companies and the unprecedented robbery of the policy-holders.

While you were advocating Government ownership of railroads The World was explaining the real meaning of Mr. Harriman's swindling stock-jobbing operations and demanding his criminal prosecution under laws already on the statute books.

You seem to be laboring under the delusion, Mr. Bryan, that political reform in the United States began with you and will end with you. There could be no greater error.

THE GREAT UNKNOWN.

You may not be able to understand, Mr. Bryan, why a candidate as popular as you are, as magnetic as you are and as eloquent as you are should be foreordained to defeat. But from the beginning of American history nobody has ever talked himself into the Presidency. However great the applause that the orator could command from the rostrum, the prize of the Presidency has frequently been awarded in preference to the Great Unknown.

Jefferson, you will remember, made no speeches. Neither Madison nor Monroe nor John Quincy Adams had a popular following. William Henry Harrison won the Whig nomination from Clay in 1840 and at the polls beat Van Buren.

James K. Polk had been Speaker of the House of Representatives, but he was from Tennessee at a time when that State was on the frontier; yet in convention he defeated Martin Van Buren, Lewis Cass, James Buchanan and John C. Calhoun, and at the polls he triumphed over Henry Clay, the greatest talker of his time.

In 1848 the Democrats nominated Cass, an orator and leader of men, but they were defeated by Zachary Taylor, who did not talk and who was known only as a soldier.

In 1852 the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, a very small man from a very small State, against Gen. Winfield Scott, the most popular figure of the Mexican War, and won the election by the largest majority ever cast up to that date. Pierce was comparatively obscure and of mediocre ability. He came from a State that was unimportant politically even then, but he had no record to defend, and that was what nominated and elected him. Not only did Pierce defeat Gen. Scott at the polls because like you he was too well known and had too much of a record, but in the convention he won the nomination over such Democratic leaders as Douglas, Buchanan and Cass.

The old Whig party had become in many respects the personal property of Clay and Webster. It lived, but it did not thrive upon their oratory. It was said of Clay that as a Presidential candidate he could stir up more enthusiasm and get fewer votes than any other living man.

Things came to such a pass that the Whigs could manifest no great enthusiasm for anybody except Clay, and the party died. A truthful epitaph would describe that organization as a one-man party which perished because the one man perished.

Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President by the Republicans because William H. Seward, of New York, the logical candidate, was too well known. When Gen. Grant was nominated and elected in 1868 his political views were a mystery even to himself. He had been a pro-slavery Democrat before the war and is believed to have voted for Breckinridge in 1860, but from that time on his political record was a blank. He wrote nothing and he said nothing, but the party managers and the people preferred him to a host of great Republicans whose names were household words.

Rutherford B. Hayes was hardly a name to the great majority of American voters when the Republicans nominated him in 1876, but he defeated Samuel J. Tilden. Garfield had a reputation as an orator and debater, but he was one of the secondary figures in the Republican party. Until circumstances over which he had neither influence nor control brought about his nomination for President he was never recognized as

a great leader of the party. Conkling was a more brilliant orator than Garfield, an abler lawyer, a greater man and a genuine leader, but the Presidency was as far from Conkling as if he were constitutionally disqualified for that great office.

Blaine met the same fate that has overtaken so many other orators. He was beaten by the uneloquent Grover Cleveland, who four years before was unknown outside of Buffalo. In 1888 the Republican Convention thrust all the great party leaders aside to nominate Benjamin Harrison, who had to be introduced as the grandson of his grandfather, and Harrison was elected.

Even in your own case, Mr. Bryan, you owed your nomination to the fact that you were unknown. Had you been conspicuously identified in the public mind with the Democratic party's ancient feuds and controversies the Chicago Convention, in spite of your crown of thorns and cross of gold speech, would have passed you by as it passed Bland and Boies.

The moral is obvious. The situation demands a substantial man of good character and respectable talents, who has no record to defend and is identified with none of the bitter animosities of former factional strife. If the Democratic party needed a new-blood candidate in 1884, when Cleveland was nominated; if it needed a new-blood candidate in 1896, when you were nominated, it is doubly in need of a new-blood candidate now, when the very life of the Democracy is in jeopardy.

DEMOCRATIC LIFE OR DEATH.

Conceding your great plausibility, your energy, your seeming candor, your courage, your perseverance and your wonderful health and humor, Mr. Bryan, are you qualified to lead the Democratic party or to be its candidate? We think not. In any event, these are questions which in the nature of things you alone should not be permitted to answer selfishly. The answer rests with such fragments of the Democratic organization as now remain.

There used to be Democratic captains of hundreds and Democratic captains of thousands who were competent to solve such problems. It must be that some of them can be summoned again in council, and that, relieved of the dominating influence of the one man who has done so much to scatter their followers, they will be guided aright.

It is no accident which has deprived the Democratic party in the North of worthy and intelligent leadership. The movement which for twelve years has dwindled under your influence has had that very thing in view. Not all of these old-time Democratic leaders were in every respect acceptable, but they represented a party of the Constitution, and, in spite of their faults, most of them were at heart attached to principles which must be sustained if the Republic or the Constitution is to endure.

The blight of Populism has driven the men who might have filled these places into an uncongenial party or into inactivity. A multitude of generous youths who were once the hope of a rising Democracy have been alienated. Such national organization as exists is content to register the oracular decrees which you frequently promulgate from Lincoln or en route, or sullenly applaud some puppet who rises mechanically to present well-thumbed resolutions of indorsement, which read the same to-day as they did in 1896, before the fearful record now in view was made.

To paraphrase Mr. Lincoln, no party can long remain half Democratic and half Socialistic. It must be wholly one or wholly the other. Is the Democratic party, then, to live or is it to die?

To a degree much greater than many of its leaders suppose, the Democratic party in the Southern States is solemnly charged with responsibility for the answer which shall be made to this question. Party organization has not been corrupted in the South as it has been in the North. In most of the States of the South it is still Democratic.

Its greatest fault is its disposition uncomplainingly to concede to Democrats and to so-called Democrats of the North the selection of candidates and issues. There was a reason for this at one time, but that reason no longer obtains. If the Democratic party is to live the South must speak the word. If the Democratic party is to die the South must sign the warrant.

Even the Southern leaders who profess to favor your nomination must perceive the hopelessness of your candidacy. In a period of great financial disturbance the party must have a leader who can appeal to public confidence, not one who can appeal only to public distrust. You are still utterly unsafe on the money question. With great issues like currency and banking reform to be dealt with, and the question of a central bank to be considered, you are one of the last public men in the country who could be regarded as a safe and trustworthy counsellor. You have learned nothing about finance in eleven years, but the American people have learned much. For one thing they know how little you knew then. In the midst of financial depression the American people need statesmanship, not Populistic agitation, and they will not accept you as a trustworthy guide and leader. Least of all will they accept you when you continue to assert, as you did at Freeport, that your 16-to-1 campaign has been vindicated by events. If the election of 1896 was disastrous to the Democratic party, with you as its candidate the election of 1908 would be doubly disastrous. There is enough menace to legitimate business now without deliberately electing a new and unnecessary menace to the Presidency of the United States.

The dictates of conscience, the lessons of experience, the judgments of intelligence, the frightful results which expediency and demagoguery have produced in the past and the new dangers that threaten on every hand admonish Democrats that if their organization is to continue in anything but name they must rescue it from its present predicament.

Greater men than you, Mr. Bryan, have been compelled to yield to the inexorable logic which thus far has decreed that the Democratic party should live. Why should you be clothed with power to say that it shall perish?

We have set down nothing here in malice. You yourself cannot question the accuracy of the record which has been made. You may disagree with the conclusions and you may not be pleased with the application, but of the truth of this presentation there can be no controversy.

The vital fact confronting you and the Democratic party is this:

You cannot possibly be elected.

Why, then, should you receive the nomination?

THE WORLD.

New York, Feb. 1, 1908.

APPENDIX.

A WESTERN CANDIDATE.

(From an Editorial in *The World*, January 3, 1908.)

No Democratic candidate for President can be elected in 1908 unless he wins 95 electoral votes from States carried by Theodore Roosevelt in 1904.

Mr. Bryan cannot possibly do it. In the present demoralized and disintegrated condition of the party perhaps no Democrat can do it; but there are Democrats who can come nearer it than Mr. Bryan, and one of them is John A. Johnson, Governor of Minnesota. *In the two great debatable States of New York and New Jersey he would be at least 100,000 votes stronger than Mr. Bryan.*

No Democratic candidate for President has yet carried Minnesota, but Johnson perhaps might. Cleveland lost the State in 1884 by 41,000, in 1888 by 38,000, in 1892 by 12,000. Bryan lost it in 1896 by 53,000 and in 1900 by 77,000. Roosevelt's plurality in 1904 was 161,000, yet out of the Slough of Democratic Despond came John A. Johnson with a plurality of 6,352, the only straight-out Democratic candidate for Governor elected on a straight-out Democratic ticket in Minnesota since 1858, the year the State was admitted to the Union and Henry H. Sibley, a Democrat, was chosen the first Governor.

Only once in all the long years between Sibley and Johnson had there been an interruption in the series of Republican victories. In 1898 John Lind, a Swedish silver Republican Congressman, was nominated for Governor on a fusion ticket by the Democrats, Populists and Silver Republicans. Mr. Lind was elected, but two years later, when Mr. Bryan was again the Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Lind was defeated for re-election, and a Republican administration resumed possession of the State government.

John Johnson's election in 1904 was no political accident. He proved it in 1906, when he went before the people on the record of his administration and carried the State by 76,000, the largest plurality Minnesota ever gave to any candidate for Governor on any ticket. Johnson had 30,000 more votes than the Democrats, Populists and Silver Republicans combined gave to Bryan in 1896 and 56,000 more votes than Bryan received in 1900.

In Nebraska, where William J. Bryan is best known, he ran only 1,000 ahead of his ticket in 1900. In Minnesota, where John Johnson is best known, he ran 93,000 ahead of his ticket in 1904, polling nearly three times as many votes as Judge Parker.

So much for John Johnson as a vote-getter. *The World repeats its assertion that he would be 100,000 votes stronger than Mr. Bryan in New York and New Jersey.*

When John Locke Scripps went to Abraham Lincoln in 1860 in search of materials for a campaign biography Lincoln said: "Why, Scripps, it is a great piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of me or my early life. It can all be condensed into a single sentence, and that sentence you will find in Gray's 'Elegy'—'The short and simple annals of the poor.'" The same might be said of Gov. Johnson. The son of the town blacksmith at St. Peter, who had been sent to the county

poorhouse for alcoholic dementia, Johnson's early years were no less bleak and wretched and squalid than Lincoln's. At the age of thirteen he left school to help support his mother, who was taking in washing to keep a roof over the heads of her children. By the time he was fifteen she was no longer a washerwoman, and John Johnson has been making good ever since.

His administration as Governor has been characterized by a radical sanity which seems to have won the confidence of all classes. He has never used his executive power for partisan advantage. A Republican Senate has confirmed his appointments to office without a dissenting vote. He was one of the leaders in the interstate movement for reformed insurance legislation after the Armstrong investigation. He advocated and signed the Two-Cent Fare bill, which applies to all Minnesota railroads, yet the business interests of the State trust him and James J. Hill is a warm advocate of his nomination for President.

When the Western Federation of Miners called out its members on the Mesaba range, and the strikers were parading through the mining towns carrying red flags and threatening life and property, Gov. Johnson went to the scene alone, warned the men that he would tolerate no violence, discussed with them their grievances and settled the strike to the satisfaction of both sides.

Here is a man forty-seven years old, the age of Roosevelt when he swept the country in 1904. His battle against adversity in his rise from the humblest environment is hardly less inspiring than Lincoln's. Both his private life and his public character are beyond reproach. He has had no part in the ancient feuds and vendettas of the Democratic party. He has already proved himself a born leader of men, neither an agitator nor a demagogue. Under new and grave responsibilities his intellectual development has been no less remarkable than his political advancement. Democrats and Republicans alike join in testifying to his well-balanced temperament, his sturdy common sense and his instinct for justice.

Here is a Democrat who has twice carried one of the great Republican strongholds of the country. He might carry his own State, which is more than Mr. Bryan can do. *He would unquestionably poll 100,000 more votes than Mr. Bryan in New York and New Jersey.*

If nominated for President he would carry every State that Mr. Bryan could carry, and he would give his party a fighting chance in States where Mr. Bryan's candidacy would mean a Republican walkover.

Is it thinkable that the qualifications and availability of John A. Johnson for President will receive no consideration from the Democratic delegates at Denver? We refuse to believe it. A national convention of lunatics and imbeciles would show more sense than that.

JOHN JOHNSON'S AVAILABILITY.

(From an Editorial in The World, January 4, 1908.)

"The Republic is opportunity," said Garfield. Could the Democratic party nominate any man for President who more completely embodies this vital principle of American institutions than Gov. Johnson of Minnesota? Is there another man whose candidacy would prove such an inspiration to the foreign-born voter who has reached up to freedom and citizenship?

Not since Andrew Jackson has the United States had a President whose parents were born under another flag. Not the least part of Jackson's marvellous political strength lay in the appeal he made to those humble citizens of the Republic who realized that what he had done the son of some other immigrant might do.

According to the census returns, less than half the voting population of the United States is of native-born white parentage. One-fourth of it was foreign-born, and of the native-born population nearly one-fourth had foreign-born parents. It is to this latter element that Gov. Johnson belongs, as did Andrew Jackson.

The Scandinavian population, from which Gov. Johnson sprang, holds the balance of political power in Minnesota, South Dakota and North Dakota. These three States have 19 electoral votes, and Mr. Bryan could not possibly carry one of them. The Scandinavian influence is very strong in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Montana, which have 57 votes in the Electoral College. Mr. Bryan could not make the slightest impression on the Republican majorities in these States. There are 60,000 Scandinavian voters in Chicago alone and 85,000 in Illinois. Under normal political conditions such as existed before Mr. Bryan became the leader of the Democratic party, they might perhaps turn the State.

Gov. Johnson's appeal would not be restricted to Swedes and Norwegians. It would go out to all those elements, once alien in blood or language or allegiance, who sought freedom under the American flag and know from their own experience that the Republic is what Garfield said it was—Opportunity. The candidacy of this son of a Swedish immigrant who has worked his way up from the humblest conditions would be hardly less inspiring to the native-born than to the man of foreign birth or parentage, for John Johnson's career represents the proudest and oldest boast of American citizenship.

The World repeats what it has already said, that as the Democratic candidate for President he would be at least 100,000 votes stronger in New York and New Jersey alone than Mr. Bryan.

Surely the Democratic National Convention will not shut its eyes to the qualifications and availability of such a man unless it is so infatuated with defeat and disaster that the faintest prospect of victory is repugnant.

GOV. JOHNSON'S VIEWS OF NATIONAL ISSUES.

(By Telegraph to The World, December 28, 1907.)

The commercial and industrial development of this country has reached a point where the proper adjustment of right has become the question of the hour. The present unrest of our people is evidence of the determination shared by all that the fundamental principles of this Government shall be maintained. These include the dignity of labor, equality before the law, the equal enforcement of the laws and entire absence of special privileges.

Great corporations, especially those exercising at least some of the powers of government, must come to the realization that they are as amenable to the law as is the individual citizen.

The trust problem is still to be solved; but, while searching for the complete remedy, we can at least withdraw from their grasp the special privileges they have enjoyed under a high protective tariff.

It must be apparent that our present tariff, while mainly responsible for the existence of the trusts, is, in addition, a tax upon the masses for the benefit of the few.

The farming of taxes in France, before the Revolution, was no more iniquitous than is our present tariff system. 1908 will be a memorable year for the struggle of equal right and American ideals; the year will see tariff reform accomplished or well under way; for if the present Congress does not at the present session make substantial reductions the people in November will elect the one pledged so to do. JOHN A. JOHNSON.

St. Paul, Minn., Dec. 28.

TARIFF REVISION PARAMOUNT.

(From an interview in *The World*, January 3, 1908.)

"What must the Democratic party do to win?" The *World* asked to-day of John A. Johnson, Governor of Minnesota.

Here is his answer, revised and approved by him, showing the beliefs, the principles and the views of this exceptional man, who has twice been elected as a Democrat in a Republican stronghold, and made a notable record as an executive:

"It must first of all adopt a platform with tariff as the paramount dominant issue. The Democratic party has won twice on that issue—its only victories in fifty years—and on that issue it can win again.

"Secondly, the platform must be one which will appeal to the intelligent business men of the country. When I use the term business men I mean every man that has a dollar invested in making his own livelihood, whether it be \$1,000 in a farm, \$5,000 in a store, \$10,000 in law books and a legal education or \$50,000 in a factory.

"The party with such a platform as I have outlined should then turn to the selection of candidates, and here the principle of absolute fitness should apply. *No man should be chosen as candidate for either the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency because he represents some particular idea, or interest, or mercenary qualification.*

"I have said repeatedly that I consider the tariff the paramount issue of the coming campaign. You cannot solve the trust evil successfully until the conditions that produce the trusts are improved.

"I believe that the tariff, more than any other cause, has a direct bearing on trusts, and places a burden, direct and indirect, on the people of the country, benefitting no general class and good only to a privileged few.

"Recently there has been promulgated the doctrine of greater centralization of power in the Federal Government. Under our system of government the States are sovereign within their domains in regard to all domestic affairs of the commonwealth, and any departure from this theory would be, in my mind, dangerous—as dangerous as though one arm of the Government were to assume the functions of another branch of the civil government, or as if the States were to encroach on the constitutional prerogatives of the National Government.

"I do not believe it is the province of the Federal Government to assume those functions which rightly belong to the individual States. There are laws enough already in the Federal statute book to pretty well occupy the time of the Administration.

"New conditions naturally bring about necessity for additional laws, but at present what we need is better enforcement of existing laws. Perhaps enforcement is too strong and radical a term. I should have said administration. *Let us have better administration of the laws* The Sherman act lay dormant for many years before it was taken up and made the instrument to curb corporation evils.

"I do not believe in legalized destruction and confiscation of property. There is a right to property. Government is bound to give protection to property just as it protects human life. The right to enjoy property is guaranteed under the Constitution, and it can be denied to no citizen. The man who has a dollar invested in farm or factory has a right to have that equity safeguarded from the attacks of the unscrupulous financier on the one hand and the extreme radical on the other.

"Federal incorporation, supervision and regulation of corporations would require a vast system of administrative and legal machinery to come down within the reach of the individual.

"To the majority of our citizens in Minnesota Washington is as far away as Japan. They could not come into touch with or derive the personal benefits of national control centered in the capital.

"No, I believe in the right of the States to govern and to control that which they create. They are best able to protect and to safeguard the legitimate rights of property, of business and of the individual. I believe in the right of men to possess capital and to join that capital in a co-operative system of doing business, usually called a corporation. Capital invested in enterprise must be given a fair chance to earn a fair return upon its investment.

"Men who have legitimately acquired much property must be made to feel that there is safety in the form of government under which it exists, but the people also must be secured in their rights, must stand exempt from monopolistic exactions and enjoy the confidence that the law will not protect a man just because he is rich.

"Capital in corporate form often can do business more economically and successfully than separately. But I do not believe in permitting co-operation of capital to the extent of annihilating the business of individuals. Capital has destroyed individual effort principally through evasion of the law. While corporations are entitled to have their property protected, they should not be granted such protection as to crush individual effort.

"I am in favor of an income tax and would like to see one adopted.

"I believe in an inheritance tax. The State has a right to impose a certain charge on the safe transfer of property from one generation to the other. Such a tax falls with no great burden. But the State has no right to impose a tax that would be confiscatory nor, as President Roosevelt suggests, a tax on swollen fortunes merely to restrict their size.

"The man who, by his legitimate labor, has acquired one dollar in wealth should not have that dollar taken away by the State simply because he possesses it and the State has the power to take it. He has an equity in that dollar, just as the merchant has an equity in his business.

"The great curse of the country is the fictitious valuations placed upon property and the fact that the American people must by their energy and economy pay tribute to this kind of genius by paying a rate of interest and profit on property which has no existence.

"Illustrations have been numerous where a man or syndicate of men has taken a million dollars' worth of property and by writing new certificates has converted it into five million dollars' worth of property; where one hundred million dollars of industrials have been combined into one enterprise and by the issue of certificates have been enhanced in value 400 per cent. and the American people have paid a reasonable rate of interest and profit on the stocks and bonds of the watered stock of the corporation.

"What has been true in the industrial world has been equally true in the world of transportation. Combinations have been made and new shares of stock issued far in excess of the actual value of the property. I believe in corporations. I believe the American people ought to pay a fair profit on all legitimate classes of property. I believe, however, that the American people ought to pay only on the actual value of the property and not upon the inflation."

JOHN A. JOHNSON THE MAN.

(As Described by a Special Correspondent of The World.)

Here is how John A. Johnson appeared, talked and acted while he talked to-day to The World correspondent in the Governor's office, a much gilded room in the elaborate State Capitol, with windows looking out over the snow-covered streets and houses of St. Paul:

Six feet tall, with another inch available if he stood more erect; angular, big boned, large hands and feet.

He wore a gray suit of clothes that was very thin for Minnesota winter weather, but when he went out he put on a fur-lined overcoat and a black derby hat.

In a lavender necktie, tied in a loose four-in-hand knot, was a stickpin of five little pearls. Likewise he wore a gold watch chain, but no other jewelry.

His shoes were brightly polished; his trousers had no ironed crease in them, but his clothes fitted without wrinkles. The first suit of evening clothes he put on was at the age of twenty-nine, but the people of St. Paul say he wears them now as if moulded to form.

His face is smooth-shaven. The high cheek bones and the long, strong jaw stand out with aggressive prominence. His nose is big and twisted a little to the right. His mouth is large. The upper lip is thicker than the lower, which is the reverse of the lips of orators, except among the Irish.

The eyes are small and he squints them like most persons in countries where there is much snow and bright sunlight. Their color is cold blue-gray, and they never dodge, nor squint, nor evade a straight look at you. Is he handsome? Not at all. The young woman stenographer to whom this article was dictated in the Hotel Ryan said:

"Isn't Gov. Johnson a homely man? But he is so lovely and nice that you forget his looks."

Just before he became Governor the greatest sorrow of John Johnson's life came. That mother who made him what he is died in the little country home where she had continued to live a simple, unpretentious life.

The first good books that John Johnson read were Prescott's historical works, lent him by a neighbor who saw him reading trash. That began his education, acquired since the age of thirteen solely by his own reading. The happiest day of his life was when he was able to buy the twenty-five volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which he devoured with hungry mind. He read history and biography all the time.

The editorship of a little country weekly newspaper, the St. Peter Herald, was the stepping stone in public life, membership of the Legislature and finally Governor.

Of wealth, Gov. Johnson has less than \$25,000. His salary as Governor is \$7,000 a year, and he lives within it. He owes no man a penny and he never had a debt that was not paid at maturity.

He joined the Presbyterian Church and then married Nora Preston, an Irish girl, who is a Catholic. They have no children. Mrs. Johnson is pretty, clever and much admired.

The most striking physical impression of the man is that he possesses iron courage.

The most vivid impression of his mentality is that he has a hard head full of common sense.

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